Archaeological Excavations at the Ehler Site (12-Hu-1022): An Early 19th Century Miami Indian Habitation Site Near the Forks of the Wabash, Huntington County, Indiana.

by Rob Mann

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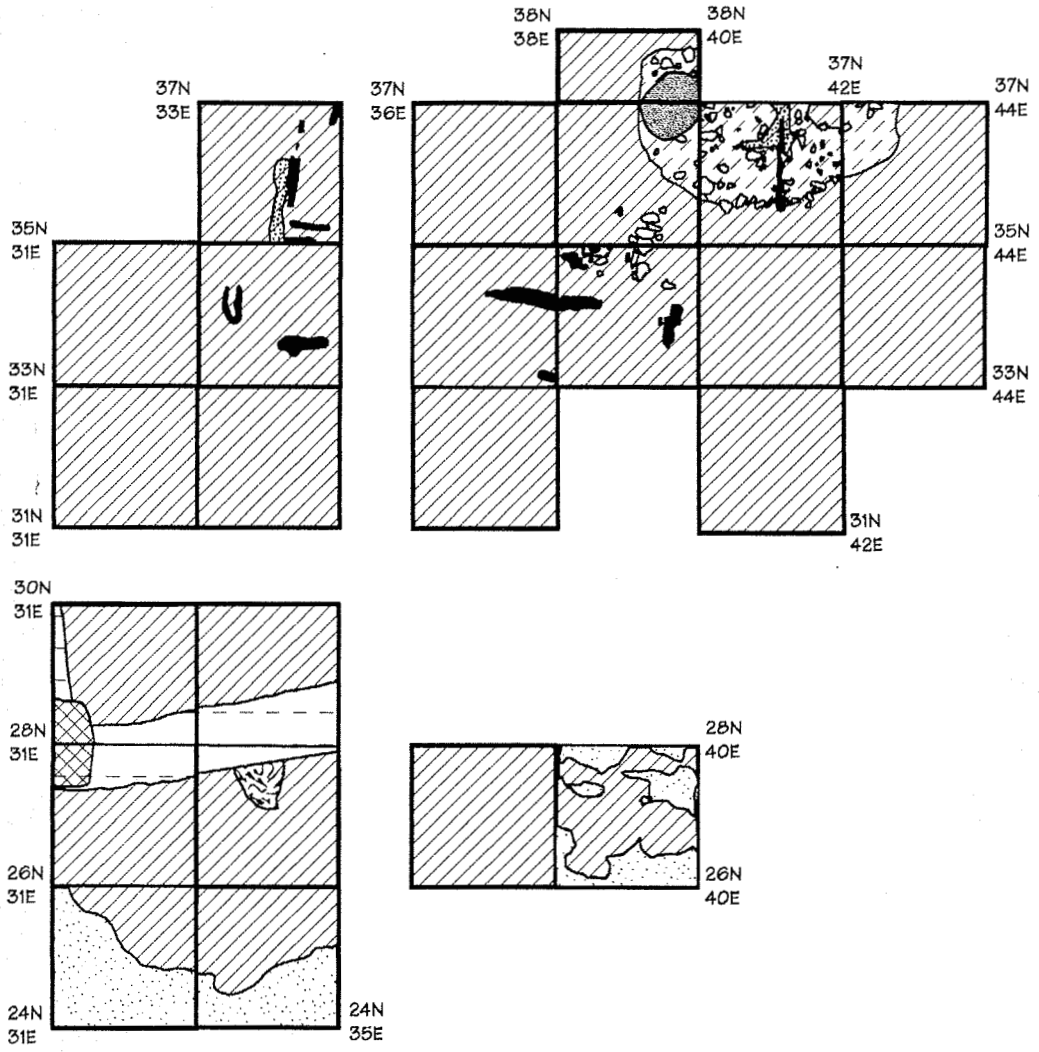

Report of Investigation 95IN0062-P3r01 January 1996
LANDMARK Archaeological and Environmental Services, Inc.

Archaeological Excavations at the Ehler Site (12-Hu-1022): An Early 19th Century Miami Indian Habitation Site Near the Forks of the Wabash, Huntington County, Indiana

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1. Introduction

By the close of summer 1812, the American control of the Old Northwest seemed tenuous at best. On August 15 the garrison, their families and the civilians of Fort Dearborn were attacked and decimated by a large force of Potawatomi, Ottawa and Winnebago as they attempted to evacuate. Fifty-three Americans were killed, including two women and twelve children. Meanwhile at Detroit, General William Hull had surrendered to the British without firing a shot. Bolstered by their recent successes, Indian forces began to quietly assemble around the American outpost at the headwaters of the Maumee River, Fort Wayne. The resulting siege would last until William Henry Harrison, leading an army of 2,200 men, scattered the Indians and lifted the siege on September 12, 1812.

As evening fell on September 15th, American forces dispatched from Fort Wayne arrived at the Miami Indian settlement located at the forks of the Wabash. Finding that the inhabitants had fled in advance of them, the soldiers spent that evening and the next day pillaging the settlement, which stretched for three or four miles down river from the forks, burning the houses and destroying the crops in the fields. Many of the homes were apparently not reoccupied following the retreat of the Americans as the Miami consolidated the previously scattered settlement at the forks proper.

The present study details the results of archaeological investigations at a portion of this Miami settlement--the Ehler Site (12-Hu-1022)--which dates to the early 19th century. The site is located approximately 3 miles west of the city of Huntington in Huntington County, Indiana (Figure 1). As per an agreement between the Indiana Department of Transportation (INDOT) and Landmark Archaeological and Environmental Services, the archaeological excavations at 12-Hu-1022 were undertaken in order to mitigate any adverse effects to the site by INDOT project MAF-146-0, the reconstruction and realignment of U. S. Highway 24. The site is situated on a Pleistocene terrace overlooking the Wabash River.

Previous archaeological testing at the site had documented the existence of "undisturbed prehistoric midden, living surfaces, and features" and it was recommended that the site "be avoided by construction activities or mitigated through data recovery" (Zoll 1992:1). The former not being an option, archaeological data recovery operations conducted by Landmark commenced in September and concluded in December, 1994. Following the establishment of a north-south datum line and an east-west base line and the mechanical stripping of the overburden (plowzone), the site was divided into 4 x 4 meter blocks which were further divided into 2 x 2 meter excavation units. A total of 35.5 2 x 2 meter units were delineated. These units, or portions thereof containing cultural deposits were hand excavated. The excavation of these units revealed the presence of 10 subsurface features, including midden, hearths, storage and refuse pits from the historic Miami Indian occupation of the site. The field investigations were accomplished by a field crew of between three and six persons and under the direct supervision of the senior author.

All data recovered, including surface finds, 1/4 inch screen artifacts, piece plotted *in situ* artifacts, floatation and fine screen soil samples, were brought back to Landmark laboratory facilities for processing and analysis. The faunal remains were analyzed by Dr. Terrance Martin and J.C. Richmond of the Illinois State Museum. The floral material recovered from the site was analyzed by Leslie Bush of the Glenn Black Laboratory of Archaeology.

By this report, the Contractor--Landmark Archaeological and Environmental Services--has complied with the regulations set down in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (PL-89-665) as amended. The present study serves as documentation of adherence to Executive Order 11593, "Protection and enhancement of the Cultural Environment," and Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Additionally, the investigations were conducted per guidelines in the "The Management of Archaeological Resources, The Airlie House Report" (McGimsey and Davis 1977), and the "Indiana Archaeological Report Guidelines, 1989." It is also in compliance with current amendments to the Indiana Historic Preservation Act (IC14-3-3.4). All work conducted at the site, as well as the subsequent analysis and report preparation, has been accomplished by a Professional Archaeologist meeting the standards set forth by the U.S. Department of the Interior and detailed in 36 CFR Part 61 and 66 and the Secretary of the Interior's "Guidelines for Historic Preservation and Archaeology" (49 CFR 44716).

The archaeological resources uncovered by the mitigation of site 12-Hu-1022 resulted in the documentation of several aspects of Miami culture during a crucial period in their history. The War of 1812

marked the last organized resistance of the Old Northwest tribes. Following the war and the resultant influx of Anglo-american settlers, the autonomy of the Wabash tribes would swiftly erode, leading to their eventual forced exodus from the newly formed state of Indiana. The Ehler Site provides a glimpse of Miami culture just as major changes to their lifeways were beginning to be brought about.

Chapter 2. Methodology

Previous Investigations

An archaeological surface reconnaissance, conducted by Archaeological Resources Management Service (ARMS), Ball State University and in conjunction with expanded right-of-way for the proposed relocation of U. S. Highway 24, documented 15 previously unrecorded archaeological sites--including 12-Hu-1022 (Evans and Mann 1991). This survey of the site, and a resurvey which further defined its limits, resulted in the recovery of 398 prehistoric artifacts representing Paleoindian, Middle Archaic, Late Archaic and Late Woodland affiliations. Diagnostic artifacts included an Agate Basin point, a Paleoindian / Early Archaic point fragment, a Godar point, a Raddatz point, a Brewerton point and three Madison points (Evans and Mann 1991:10-12). Significantly, no historic period artifacts were recovered during the surface reconnaissance at the site. Given the soil characteristics at the site and the density of the artifacts it was recommended that "subsurface testing, consisting of machine stripping of the plowzone from 5% of the area of the site within the project boundaries (6625 sq. ft.), be conducted" (Evans and Mann 1991:13).

In October, 1991 ARMS conducted archaeological testing at 12-Hu-1022. The excavation of nine, one-meter wide backhoe trenches revealed "the presence of six sub-plowzone features and noted the presence of what appears to be a buried living surface that appeared to be the floor of a structure" (Zoll 1992:1). The testing recovered 589 prehistoric artifacts and six historic artifacts. The historic artifacts, one hand cut nail, one brass pin and four white seed beads, were recovered from feature contexts (Zoll 1992:8). Based on the existence of sub-plowzone deposits at the site, it was concluded that the site was eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places and the State Register of Historic Places. It was recommended that the site be preserved in place by shifting the proposed alignment completely off of the site. If avoidance could not be accomplished, it was recommended that a portion of the site within the proposed right-of-way be excavated in order to obtain a representative sample of the data contained in the site (Zoll 1992:17). The proposed reconstruction and realignment of U. S. 24 precluded the option of avoidance of 12-Hu-1022 and in September 1994 data recovery operations were initiated by Landmark Archaeological and Environmental Services.

In the Field

Site 12-Hu-1022 is located in an active agricultural field bounded on the north by the Wabash and Erie Canal and U. S. 24, on the south by the Wabash River, on the east by Clear Creek and on the west by woods. Both machine-assisted excavations and hand excavated units were employed during the data recovery operations conducted at 12-Hu-1022 in an effort to maximize the mitigation results; given the time and funds available for the project. As Wagner and McCorvie have noted for historic period sites in southern Illinois, the use of mechanical equipment to remove overburden soils allows for the recovery of more extensive information concerning site layout and spatial distributions than could be obtained through the exclusive use of hand excavations, which tend to result in the detailed recording of a few small areas (1990:20).

Following the establishment of the datum and base lines, ca. 1320 square meters of overburden were mechanically removed from three excavation blocks (Excavation Blocks A, B and C) using a backhoe equipped with a ca. 1 meter (3 foot) wide, smooth bladed bucket. Mechanically stripped areas were then shovel scraped in order to check for the presence of subsurface features. Where intact subsurface remains were encountered 4 x 4 meter blocks, subdivided into 2 x 2 meter excavation units, were laid out. A total of 35.5 2 x 2 meter excavation units, 142 square meters, were delineated and the cultural deposits--midden, pit features, etc.--within each unit were completely excavated (Figure 3). The southwest corner of each excavation unit was designated as the unit datum and all measurements within a unit were taken from the unit datum. All unit datums were recorded in relation to the overall site datum using a standard transit and leveling rod.

Once exposed, all features were schematically and photographically recorded in plan view and whenever possible *in situ* artifacts were piece plotted on the plan view maps. Piece plotted artifacts were bagged separately. Pit features wholly contained within 1 or 2 excavation units were first bisected to obtain

a profile view, whereupon the profiles were mapped and photographed. Fifteen liter flotation samples were taken from each half of pit features. Where features (i.e. midden) extended over several units, they were treated as discrete entities within each unit. As such, a fifteen liter flotation sample was taken from each unit containing the feature. Representative wall profiles showing the stratigraphic relationships of the feature were mapped and photographed. Bulk soil samples were taken from each unit, initially to be used for radiocarbon dating. However, once the nature of the site was established these samples were used as fine screen soil samples as a check against what was recovered in the 1/4" screen. All feature fill was processed through 1/4 inch (4.6mm) hardware cloth. All recovered artifacts were bagged and their provenience noted on the bags.

An overall site plan view map, keyed to existing, permanent landmarks, was prepared. The site map records the relationship of the stripped areas, excavation units and cultural features to existing natural and man-made landmarks such as the Wabash River, the Wabash and Erie Canal and U.S. Highway 24.

All data recovered, including surface finds, 1/4" screen artifacts, piece plotted *in situ* artifacts, flotation and fine screen soil samples, were brought back to Landmark laboratory facilities for processing and analysis.

In the Laboratory

Basic laboratory tasks, washing, sorting and tabulating of all collected data, were carried out at Landmark laboratory facilities located in Sheridan, Indiana. Flotation samples were processed through a 30 gallon drum flotation device in order to recover microfloral, faunal and artifactual data that might otherwise be missed. Water entering from the base of the drum was forced through a turbulator, causing the light fraction--primarily floral remains--to float upward and over a weir where it was caught in the light fraction collector, a nylon bag. The heavy fraction, consisting of both artifactual and non-artifactual materials, settled onto the 1.5 mm mesh screen, heavy fraction collector. Once air dried, the light fractions were bagged and shipped to Leslie Bush of the Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology, Bloomington, Indiana for analysis. The heavy fractions were further processed through a set of geologic sieves. Cultural materials, including faunal remains, were hand picked from the .072" and .030" mesh screens. The non-artifactual detritus from these two screens was then discarded. Though no cultural materials were observed in the .015" or .0098" mesh screens, all detritus from these screens was bagged and saved. Bulk soil samples were water screened through 1.5 mm mesh window screen. Cultural materials were hand picked from the dried samples and all detritus was discarded. All faunal remains, including those picked from the flotation and bulk soil samples, were shipped to Dr. Terrance Martin and J.C. Richmond of the Illinois State Museum, Springfield, Illinois. Artifact analyses were conducted in-house by specialists in historic archaeology.

After being washed all artifacts, prehistoric and historic, were initially sorted into classes based on material types; stone, clay, metal and glass:

Stone

Prehistoric stone artifacts make up the majority of the lithic assemblage of the site. Categories of prehistoric chipped lithics used in this study loosely follow those developed by Cochran (1991:D1-D5):

flake - Any piece of stone exhibiting one or more of the following characteristics; a striking platform, a bulb of percussion or compression rings (ripples).
block flake - Sharp-edged, irregularly shaped pieces of stone that lack any of the above flake attributes.
core - A piece of stone exhibiting one or more negative flake scars.
biface - Any artifact exhibiting negative flake scars, either partially or wholly, on both surfaces.
endscraper - An unifacially flaked tool with a concentration of retouch on one end.
point - A point is "any bifacially flaked, bilaterally symmetrical, chipped stone artifact exhibiting a point of juncture on one (distal) end and some facility (notching, construction, lateral grinding) for hafting on the opposite (proximal) end" (Ahler and McMillian quoted in Cochran 1991:D-3).

Fire-cracked rocks are those igneous, sedimentary or metamorphic stones which exhibit the smooth and/or contorted fractures characteristically caused by intense heat. In addition to fire-cracked rocks,

burned stone was also recovered. These fire altered stones may be associated with the historic occupation at the site. The remaining artifacts in the historic stone artifact assemblage were either gunflints, gunflint fragments or gunflint flakes.

Clay

Both prehistoric and historic artifacts made from clay were recovered at the 12-Hu-1022. Prehistoric clay artifacts were limited to ceramic body sherds. These were further sorted according to temper material and surface treatment, if present. Ambiguous clay artifacts include a small amount of burned clay.

Historic artifacts made from clay included white clay pipes, other clay pipes and Euro-american ceramics. These ceramics were initially identified as to ware type. Creamware, pearlware, porcelain, and redware constitute the Euro-american ceramic assemblage:

creamware - Creamware, a refined earthenware having a buff or cream-colored paste and a clear lead glaze which fires to a yellow or yellowish-green tint, was introduced in England by Josiah Wedgwood about the year 1762 (Noël Hume 1970:125). Creamware peaked in popularity between ca. 1762 and 1780. It remained in production until about 1820 and rarely shows up on sites in the Midwest post dating 1830 (Lofstrom et al. 1982:5; Price 1982:10). A lighter yellow variety of creamware was developed by about 1775 and it was this lighter variety which remained in production until 1820 (Noël Hume 1970:126).
pearlware - Wedgwood, experimenting with ways to "whiten" his creamwares, thereby more closely approximating the look of Chinese porcelain, introduced in 1779 a ware he termed "Pearl White" or pearlware (Noël Hume 1970:128). Lofstrom et al. asserts that pearlwares made it to the Midwest shortly after the earliest documented appearance of the ware in North America, 1783 (1982:5). Other researchers have found pearlwares in pre-1783 archaeological contexts in North America, suggesting an introduction date of 1780 for pearlware (Price 1982:10; see also South 1978:72) Pearlware had superseded creamware in popularity between the years 1800 and 1810, at which time it was the "predominant common tableware" in the United States (Price 1982:10; Lofstrom et al. 1982:5). Pearlwares, nonvitreous, off-white pasted, refined earthenwares, characteristically have a grayish, blue-green glaze resulting from the addition of cobalt, which Wedgwood used as a whitening agent, to the glaze (Noël Hume 1970:128). For sites in the Midwest, pearlware is commonly found in archaeological contexts up to ca. 1830, at which time it appears to rapidly decline in popularity and shows up only rarely on sites post-dating 1840 (Lofstrom et al. 1982:5).
porcelain - Porcelain is a vitreous, extremely hard, highly fired, white ceramic. Though occasionally found in very early North American archaeological contexts, Chinese porcelain apparently did not become popular or affordable until sometime after 1725, becoming fairly common by the end of the 18th century (Noël Hume 1970:257).
redware - Redware is a nonvitreous, unrefined earthenware made from various clays which fire to some shade of red. Being nonvitreous, those redware vessels intended for storing liquids were glazed to make them impervious to liquids. Redware vessels were generally course, thick bodied, utilitarian wares. Decorative motifs on redwares were largely the whim of individual potters. Examples included adding metallic oxides such as manganese or copper to a clear lead glaze to produce mottled dark brown, black or green glazes. Local manufacture of redware in the Indiana region probably began by the turn of the 19th century and by 1823 potteries, likely redware, were reportedly operating in at least four Indiana counties (Buley 1950:1:551).

Metal

Metal artifacts were initially classified according to raw material--iron, tin, copper, lead, silver or pewter. When possible individual artifact types were identified. A distinction was drawn between indeterminate metal artifacts and unidentifiable metal artifacts. The former are those metal artifacts that are potentially identifiable as to type, but for which no identification could confidently be made. The latter are those that were too fragmentary or corroded to be positively identified.

Certain metal artifacts were selected for electrolytic cleaning to further aid in their identification and as a deterrent to their further deterioration. Following Plenderleith and Toracca (1968:242), only those

metal artifacts which appeared to have a "sound metallic core"--that is those that had not corroded through--were selected for the electrolytic bath. The basic procedure, again based on Plenderleith and Toracca (1968:242), is as follows. First, the electrolyte--a 5 percent solution of caustic soda (household lye) and distilled water-- was poured into a glass tank. Two sheets of stainless steel, which act as the anodes, were suspended by copper wire from two stainless steel crossbars in the electrolyte. The crossbars were connected, via copper wire and alligator clips, to a common battery charger. The corroded object, which acts as the cathode, was likewise suspended from a third crossbar, which in turn was connected to the battery charger. Switching on the current, to between 6 and 12 volts, at this point caused the encrustation to slowly flake off.

For 12-Hu-1022 only certain iron, tin and lead artifacts were found to have suitable metallic cores. Though silver, copper and pewter can also be cleaned in this manner (see Plenderleith and Werner 1971:221-296 for a full discussion of the conservation of metals), the 12-Hu-1022 specimens were deemed too small and/or potentially friable. A list of those artifacts which were electrolytically cleaned, along with the duration of the bath and the results, is presented in Appendix A.

Glass

Glass artifacts were of two types at the site; vessel glass or hollow wares--bottles, flasks, etc. and flat glass--window pane, burning glass lens, etc. Vessel glass was further catagorized according to color and, where possible, by morphological attributes and function.

Ethnohistory

In depth ethnohistorical research undertaken concurrent with the laboratory work and report preparation sought to both guide and supplement the archaeological findings. In addition, the ethnohistory was designed to help construct and place the site into its proper historic context. Wherever possible, primary sources, both published and in manuscript collections, have been used. Libraries and historical societies from across the United States and Canada have been utilized.

Report Preparation

The current study, prepared and written between January 1995 and January 1996, details all of the findings of the field, laboratory and ethnohistorical investigations of site 12-Hu-1022. Interpretations are made in light of current theoretical and methodological considerations as they apply to the specific research problems and questions evaluated herein.

Chapter 3. Biophysical Setting

Site 12-Hu-1022 is located in Huntington County in northeastern Indiana. The whole of Huntington County is set in the Tipton Till Plain, "a nearly flat to gently rolling glacial plain" (Schneider 1966:49). It is, as the name implies, a relatively featureless, "depositional plain of low relief, underlain largely by thick glacial till" that has been "modified only slightly by postglacial stream erosion" (Schneider 1966:42). The Tipton Till Plain, which fairly corresponds to the Central Till Plain Natural Region as defined by Homoya et al. (1985:253), covers approximately 12,000 square miles of central and north central Indiana.

The classification scheme devised by Homoya et al. integrates several factors including climate, soils, glacial history, topography, exposed bedrock, presettlement vegetation, species composition, physiography, and flora and fauna distribution in constructing natural regions of the state (1985:245). Within this system the Central Till Plain Natural Region is subdivided into three sections. Huntington County lies in the Bluffton Till Plain Section of the Central Till Plain Natural Region:

> This section is characterized by the predominance of clay-rich soils on a relatively level till plain. This area...was one of the last areas of Indiana to be occupied by glacial ice, in this case, by the Ontario-Erie Lobe of the Wisconsin ice sheet...Most of the natural communities are forested, along with minor areas of bog, prairie, fen, marsh, and lake communities [Homoya et al. 1985:255].

The county is underlain by Silurian age rocks, consisting primarily of dolomite, limestone, chert, siltstone and shale (Gutschick 1966:2 and 5). Of particular interest are the deposits of the massive, cherty, argillaceous Liston Creek limestone which is overlain in much of the county by the pink to gray, saccharoidal Huntington dolomite, also known as the Huntington lithofacies (Cummings and Shrock 1928:55). Outcrops of these rocks, occurring in the banks and beds of the major streams and rivers in the area, provided the prehistoric and historic aboriginal inhabitants of the region with an abundant supply of raw materials for the manufacture of stone implements.

The unconsolidated surface deposits in Huntington County are made up primarily of the New Holland member of the Lagro Formation (Wayne 1966:26). This clay-rich till was laid down by the ice of the Ontario-Erie Lobe of the Wisconsin glaciers about 15,000 years ago (Wayne 1966:34-36). However, along the major streams and rivers nonglacial sediments started to accumulate immediately following the retreat of the Wisconsin ice sheet. These mostly alluvial deposits, silt, sand and gravel, which are part of the Martinsville Formation, make up the surface deposits at 12-Hu-1022. Also near the site are surface deposits made up of the outwash facies of the Atherton Formation.

Soils at 12-Hu-1022 are within the Genesee-Ockley-Fox soil association. These soils are generally described as being "deep or moderately deep over sand and gravel, nearly level to moderately sloping, well drained, medium textured soils formed in stratified alluvial and glacial outwash sediments" (Lockridge and Jensen 1982:7). Specific soil types at the site include the gently sloping, well-drained Fox loam (FoB, 2-6% slopes) which is moderately deep over sand and gravel. This soil is generally found on Pleistocene terraces and outwash plains along the valleys of major streams (Lockridge and Jensen 1982:14). Modern evaluation of this Fox soil has concluded that it is well suited to growing corn, beans and other small grains (Lockridge and Jensen 1982:14). The subsurface cultural deposits that are the subject of the present study are located entirely on this Fox soil. Other soils present at the site include: the moderately sloping, well drained, moderately deep Fox loam (FoC2, 6-12% slopes, eroded) and the nearly level, deep, well-drained Genessee silt loam (Ge, occasionally flooded) found on floodplains (Lockridge and Jensen 1982:14-15).

Huntington County lies within the Upper Wabash Watershed of the Ohio River Drainage Basin (Kingsbury 1970). The major drainage in the county is the Wabash River. The northeast quarter of the county is drained by the Little River, sometimes referred to as the Little Wabash River. The Salamonie River drains the southwestern one-third of the county. The extreme northwest corner of the county is drained by the Eel River (Figure 4). Two headwater streams, Clear Creek and Silver Creek, flow into the Wabash near 12-Hu-1022. There are no natural lakes located in Huntington County (Purdue University and State Highway Department of Indiana 1959).

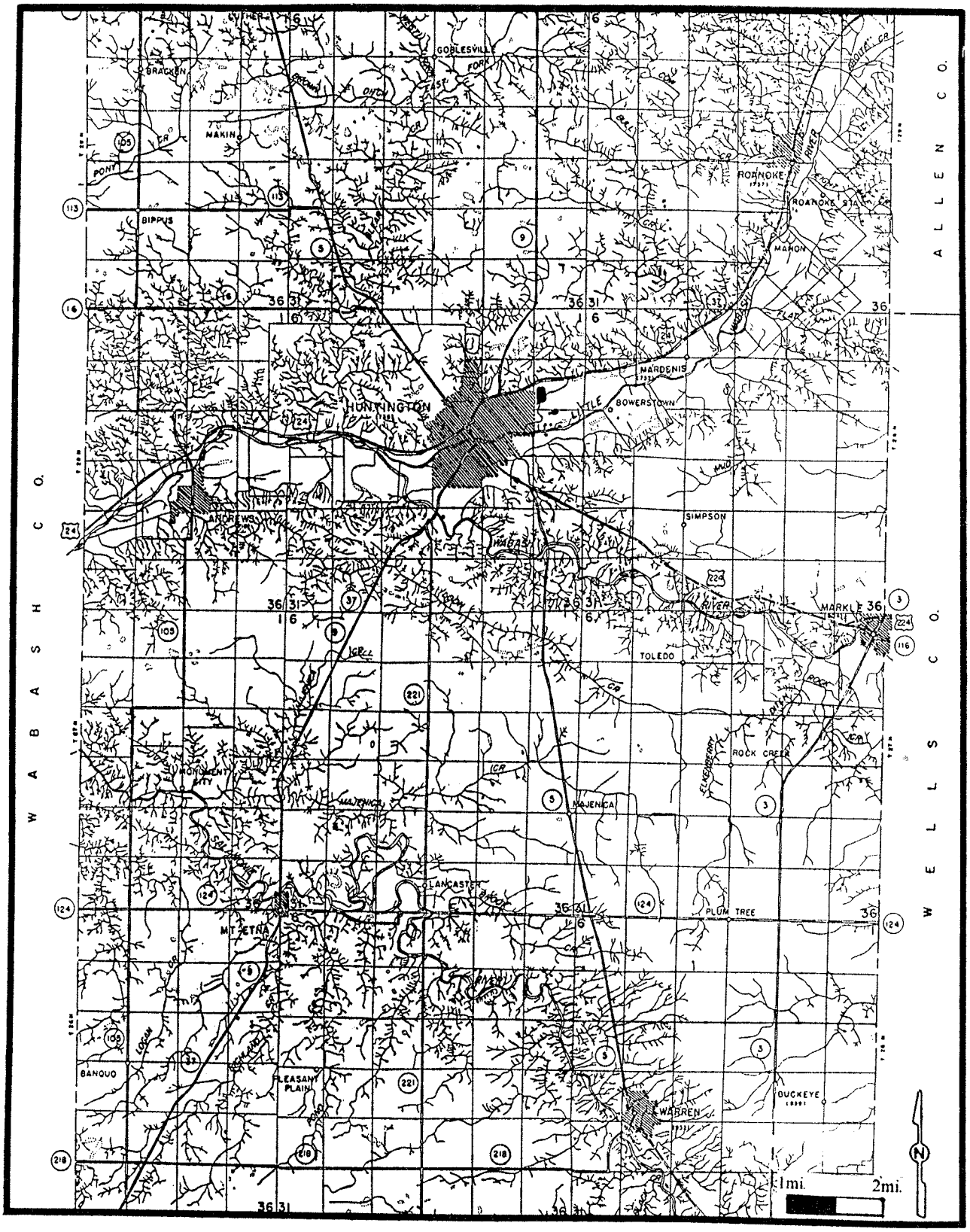


Figure 4. Huntington County Drainage Map (Purdue University and State Highway Department of Indiana 1959).

The point where the Little River joins the Wabash, approximately two miles below the town of Huntington and approximately two miles above 12-Hu-1022, is known as the forks of the Wabash. It is at this spot that the old glacial sluiceway trough, through which glacial Lake Maumee drained, enters the Wabash Valley. This trough, called the Wabash-Erie Channel, has a total length of thirty miles, "two-thirds of which is occupied by a marshy prairie and traversed by the insignificant Little Wabash or Little River" (Dyer 1888:113-114). Dyer speculates that the water in this channel may have had at one time reached a depth of 70 feet (1888:114).

The "insignificant" Little River played a significant role in the trade and transportation routes of both Native American and Euro-american peoples during the 18th and 19th centuries. The remaining one-third of the Wabash-Erie Channel not occupied by the Little River, a nine mile stretch of land between the navigable portions of the St. Mary's and Little Rivers, formed the Long Portage (see Glenn 1991a). This portage linked the Great Lakes with the Mississippi River system. The Wabash-Erie Channel, which formed the boundaries of the portage route, represented a significant natural feature for inhabitants at both the portage entry at the St. Mary's River and the portage exit at the forks of the Wabash. The best description of the physical nature of the Wabash-Erie Channel as it existed in the 18th and 19th centuries is given by Henry Hamilton, British Commandant at Detroit. In 1778 Hamilton left Detroit with a small army in route to retake Vincennes, which had recently fallen to American forces led by George Rogers Clark. Hamilton arrived at the entry of the portage on October 28, 1778:

> The Sun was just setting when I took my leave, and proceeded to the pied froid, where the boats were ready for transporting, on the other side of the river St. Joseph--
>
> 29th...Left Major Hay and Captain Maisonville to forward the boats over the portage, and walked to the further end of the carrying place 3 leagues, where Captain Mc.Leod had a guard on the Provisions &ca Ordered Off Lieutenants Du Vernet and Schieffelin with the six lbr. [six pounder--an artillery piece] and fixed ammunition to go down the Creek in Pirogues--
>
> This creek is one of the sources of the Ouabache and takes its rise in a level plain which is the heighth [sic] near the Miamis Town--the creek is called petite riviere Where the pirogues were first launched it is only wide enough for one boat and is much embarrassed with logs and Stumps-- about 4 miles below is a Beaver dam, and to those animals the traders are indebted for the conveniency of bringing their peltry by water from the Indian posts on the waters of the Ouabache--The Indians are sensible of the advantages they draw from the labors of the Beaver at this place, and will not suffer them to be killed in this neighborhood-- On my return met Lt. DuVernet with 7 pirogues loaded, ordered him to proceed and join Lt. St. Cosme who was below the Dam with some men employed to clear the chemin couvert [covered way], a narrow part of the Creek, so narrow and embarrassed with logs under water, and boughs over head that it required a great deal of work to make it passable for our small craft-- In Summer the trees overarch the Creek, and as the snakes get into the branches it is very disagreeable to pass, as they frequently fall into the canoes--
>
> 30th...lay in the woods this night-- Wolves very numerous hereabout--
>
> November 1st...it was with the greatest difficulty we passed the chemin couvert, the windings are so short that our boats 32 feet long, reached sometimes from point to point, we were yet worse off when we got to the end of this narrow pass, coming to a swamp called les Volets, from the water lilly which almost covers the surface of this fen--
>
> 9th. set off from petit rocher [the point where the Little River reaches bedrock]-- The men 5 hours in the water haling [sic] the boats

> over the shoals and rocks for a league and half-- arrived at the forks of the Ouabache at 3 o'clock p.m...[Barnhart 1951:117-119].

Traveling in the late fall, Hamilton arrived at the forks of the Wabash region just as winter temperatures began to set in, "we had had scarcely any rain since leaving the Rocher de bout, and the frost having now set in we had reason to apprehend such a drought as would stop our progress" (Barnhart 1951:118). Huntington County climate is characterized by cold winters, the first frost generally occurring around October 10th (Lockridge and Jensen 1982:Table 2). The average winter temperature is 28 degrees Fahrenheit; the average daily minimum temperature being 20 degrees. The average seasonal snow fall is 32 inches. During the winter months, the sun shines 45 percent of the time possible. In summer the temperature averages 72 degrees Fahrenheit, with an average daily maximum temperature of 84 degrees (Lockridge and Jensen 1982:2). The total annual rainfall is 22 inches, most of which falls between April and September. The prevailing wind is from the southwest (Lockridge and Jensen 1982:2). The prevailing wind, year round, is from the southwest.

Generally speaking, the vegetation of the upper Wabash during the late 18th and early 19th centuries was characterized by beech-maple forests (Figure 5).

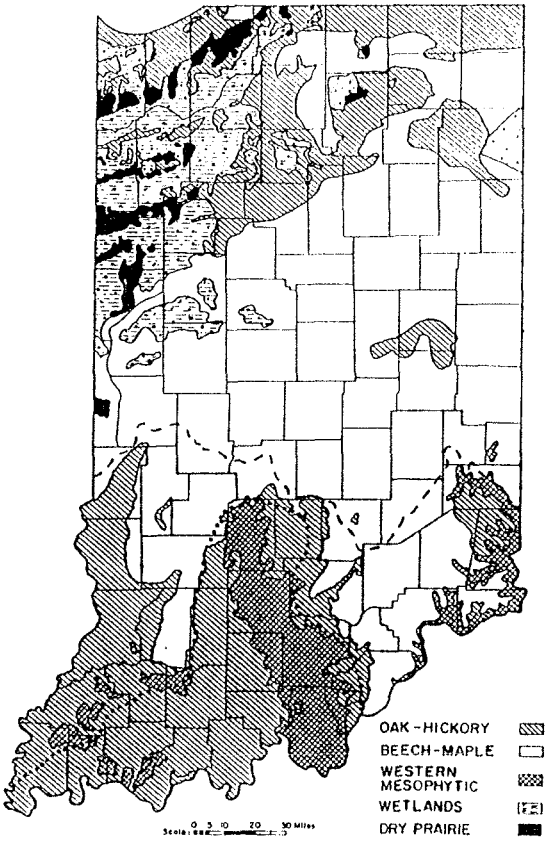


Figure 5. Map of the Natural Vegetation of Indiana ca. 1816 (Petty and Jackson 1966).

Forests classified as beech-maple usually have beech as the most abundant canopy tree, while sugar maple is co-dominant in the canopy and frequently dominates the understory. This forest association occurs most commonly within the area covered by Wisconsin age glacial till...

> Usually these dominate species [beech and sugar maple] are distributed widely and relatively evenly throughout the stand. Trees of

> such species as sassafras, black cherry, tulip poplar and walnut are more often encountered in groups...
>
> Small tree understory in the woods of the beech-maple association is generally either redbud-dogwood-blue beech or dogwood-hop hornbeam. Shrub layers usually include one or a combination of the following: pawpaw, spicebush, greenbriar, elderberry, leatherwood, wahoo and maple-leaf viburnum. Exceptionally fine spring floral displays are typical in undisturbed beech-maple forests. Common species include rue anemone, jack-in-the pulpit, spring beauty, cutleaf toothwort, pretty bedstraw, mayapple, false Solomon's seal and wild ginger [Petty and Jackson 1966:282-285].

In April 1804 Philip Dennis, Gerald T. Hopkins and George Ellicot, Baltimore Quakers, journeyed to the forks of the Wabash region to establish an experimental farm, known as Dennis' Station, designed to teach Anglo-american agricultural techniques to the Miami. Hopkins kept a journal of the trip that describes the flora and fauna the little party encountered:

> This place [Dennis' Station] is thirty-two miles south of west of Fort Wayne, and is situated on the Wabash...It was formerly the seat of an Indian town of the Delawares, and we were pleased to find there are about twenty-five acres of land clear. The Wabash here makes a beautiful appearance, and is about sixty yards wide. A little above is an island in the river, on one side of which the water runs with a strong current, and affords a good mill seat. We viewed the land in this neighborhood for a considerable distance, and found it high and of superior quality, being covered with sugar trees of enormous size, black walnut, white walnut, hackberry, blue ash, oak, buckeye trees, &c., all very large. The land appears to be equal in quality to any we have seen...
>
> As night approached, Massanonga [a Wea guide accompanying the party], taking his knife, left us, and in about fifteen minutes returned with a remarkably fine turkey. This he prepared and roasted for us in a very nice and expeditious manner, on which we fared sumptuously...
>
> In the night the otters [beavers?] were very noisy along the river, the deer also approached our fire and made a whistling noise; the wolves howled, and at the dawn of day turkies [sic] gobbled in all directions...
>
> I may here observe that the Wabash affords an abundance of large turtles, called soft shelled turtles, the outer coat being a hard skin, rather than a shell. They are esteemed excellent food. It also affords a great variety of fine fish, and we saw ducks in abundance; we are told it is resorted to by geese and swans [McCord 1970:51-52].

The bottomland forests, adjacent to the upper Wabash, though located within the beech-maple association, were not true beech-maple forests, if the account given by Hopkins can be taken to be representative of the region. This situation would not have been uncommon, for Lindsey et al. have noted that often presettlement floodplain forests contained *Celtis occidentalis* (hackberry), *Aesculus glabra* (Ohio buckeye), *Platanus occidentalis* (Scyamore) and *Ulmus americana* (American elm) in numbers too great to be considered true beech-maple forests (1965:159). The first two, hackberry and buckeye, were prevalent enough to have been recorded by Hopkins in his initial observations of the region. Beech, rarely found on active floodplains today, was apparently not dominant, or was not recognized, at the time of Hopkins' visit. His journal indicates that maple, probably *Acer nigrum* (black maple) was the dominant species (see Lindsey et al. 1965:159). Timber samples recovered from 12-Hu-1022 indicate that the native inhabitants selected sub-dominates, especially *Quercus sp.* (white oak group), for building material and/or fuel (see Chapter 9).

The wildlife, described in some detail by Hopkins, had long attracted native hunters to the upper Wabash. As late as 1821 Thomas Scattergood Teas noted on a visit to the upper Wabash:

> The rain has made it very unpleasant travelling the soil being very mellow, the mud is ancle [sic] deep, and the dripping bushes soon wet me above the middle. The musquitoes and gnats are as numerous here as along the sea shore, and are very troublesome. About 8' clock the sun shone out--hardly ever more welcome to me, arrived at the Wabash at 5 o'clock, P.M. This is a beautiful river, about 7 yards wide, flowing W. N. West. Here I halted to rest, and by sitting in the smoke of a fire which I kindled, made out to keep off the musquitoes at the risk of suffocation. The remains of Indian hunting camps are numerous along the road. The principle game that are found here are deer--there are also plenty of wolves. Their tracks, and those of deer, are every where to been seen in the mud. I have not seen many bear tracks [Lindley 1916:246-247].

The picture painted of the upper Wabash country during the early 19th century by Hopkins and Teas is one of almost uninterrupted forest. From both descriptions it is apparent that clearings in the bottomland forests were generally the result of human activity, such as the village site mentioned by Hopkins or the numerous hunting camps noted by Teas. Several of the game animals mentioned by Hopkins and Teas were staples of the inhabitants of 12-Hu-1022. Wild turkey, beaver, deer, bear, soft shell turtles, and a variety of fish were recovered from the site (see Chapter 8).

The forks of the Wabash region provided an abundance of exploitable resources, from a number of ecotones, for the native inhabitants of 12-Hu-1022. More in depth analyses of both the flora and fauna recovered at the site, including a site catchment analysis, are provided in Chapters 8 and 9.

Chapter 4. Research Design

Theoretical Orientation

The over-arching theoretical approach utilized by researchers at Landmark may be classified as cultural ecology. Cultural ecology seeks to examine the role of the relationship between culture and the natural environment in the process of culture change. Put forth initially by cultural anthropologists, especially Steward (1955), it soon found proponents in American archaeology. The cultural-ecological framework allows archaeologists to view cultures in systemic terms. Cultures are seen as open systems which interact both positively and negatively with the natural environment and with other cultural systems. Given the particular nature of much of the archaeological record, many archaeological studies carried out under the rubric of cultural ecology, with its focus on environmental factors, have emphasized the subsistence, technology and spatial arrangement (i.e. settlement patterns) of prehistoric cultures. Indeed, the research design for the mitigation of 12-Hu-1022--initially developed by Cochran--was laid out around just such aspects of culture:

> The research design for the Ehler site (12-Hu-1022) is structured around the information expected to be recovered and will be directed toward the delineation of prehistoric chronology and subsistence-settlement systems in the Upper Wabash drainage [1992:4].

However, as the true nature of the site was revealed over the course of the excavations, Trigger's (1978:151) admonishment that archaeologists "learn to ask the kinds of questions with which their data are equipped to deal" prompted the development of an expanded research design.

While remaining firmly within the cultural-ecological tradition of American archaeology, the present study attempts to go beyond a discussion of chronology, subsistence, technology and settlement patterns. The investigation and evaluation of these aspects of the site form the foundation for asking additional and appropriate questions. These additional questions are centered around the fact that the site clearly lies within the realm of historical archaeology. Historical archaeology, effectively combined with ethnohistory is proposed to be the best means for addressing these additional questions.

Historical Archaeology

Historical archaeology has been best defined by Deagan (1982:153) as "the study of human behavior through material remains, for which written history in some way affects its interpretation." Deagan goes on to outline five "avenues of inquiry" for historical archaeologists (1982:158-170). Two such "avenues" will be pursued in the present study. The first is what Deagan calls "reconstruction of past lifeways" (1982:160). The emphasis here is on the "documentation of historically disenfranchised groups in our own culture, providing alternative images of national identity from those provided by written history" (Deagan 1982:161). It is essentially a historical pursuit, similar to social history in that the focus is generally on a particular time, place and society. Where it differs from traditional history is in its use of material culture to create contexts (see Willey and Sabloff 1974:135). This enables archaeology to provide insights into the fundamental components of everyday life, those things not generally found in the written record (Deetz 1988a:363).

In this way, historical archaeology can be seen to be complimentary to history, which uses written documents to create contexts:

> Because only archaeology and documentary history provide the evidence required to delineate cultural development in the past, they are essential for understanding the historical background of the data on which all of the other social sciences are based [Trigger 1984:289].

History, as used in the present study, refers to what Deetz, following Taylor (1948), has defined as the "value influenced construction of past reality" (1988b:16). The written documents which make up the historical record are an integral component of this study. They provide the "construction of the past" against which the archaeological and ethnohistorical findings are projected (see Deetz 1988a:363).

This construction of the past will be used to pursue the second "avenue of inquiry"--the investigation of culture process (Deagan 1982:162). Though clearly an outgrowth of the development of the "New Archaeology", processual studies in historical archaeology have tended to remain particularizing--that is concerned with cultural processes operating at specific times and places--and have not tended to generate the types of nomothetic statements sought by most processual archaeologists (Deagan 1982:162). This should not be construed as a liability, for it has been argued that by refusing to explain cultural regularities solely because they are not universals, many relevant aspects of human behavior and experience are belittled or ignored (Trigger 1984:292). The cultural processes that have received the most attention from historical archaeologists, and have yielded the most significant results, are those consequenting from culture contact, commonly lumped under the heading "acculturation studies" (Deagan 1982:162).

Until recently acculturation theory represented the primary, if not the only, interpretative framework for investigating culture contact (Rogers and Wilson 1993:17). It was the interpretative framework utilized in the most comprehensive archaeological investigation of historic aboriginal groups in the Wabash Valley undertaken to date (Jones 1988). Despite its acknowledged shortcomings (see Rogers 1993:74-75), acculturation remains a useful tool in the study of culture contact and parts of acculturation theory will be used herein. Even so, the present study may be more aptly termed an eclectic approach (Rogers 1993:75) to the study of the contact situation. A significant part of this eclecism is a heavy reliance on written sources for both substantiation and interpretation of the archaeological findings.

As Deagan (1982:162) correctly asserts, it is access to the documentary record that imparts historical archaeology with a great advantage over prehistoric archaeology in the study of culture process by illuminating certain social variables that might otherwise remain hidden. The documentary record, as it pertains to the inhabitants--both native and Euro-american--of the Maumee-Wabash region during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, was examined from an ethnohistorical perspective.

Ethnohistory

Ethnohistory has been defined by Dobyns as "an advancement of the understanding of culture or cultural process by analysis of human group behavior through time using protocols of an historic nature (Euler 1972:201). This definition establishes cultural systems as the subject of study for ethnohistorians. This sentiment is echoed by Axtell, who adds "even when they (ethnohistorians) lay particular stress on one aspect of the culture, their analysis is still ethnologically oriented by their assumption that no part is to be understood without reference to its place in the whole" (1979:2). Carmack, though concurring with both Dobyns and Axtell, emphasizes the methodological aspects of ethnohistory:

> it [ethnohistory] involves a set of techniques for gathering, preparing, and analyzing oral and written traditions. The aims for which these methods are employed are those of cultural anthropology in general, and have to do with theories of culture [1972:234].

That ethnohistory is indeed a methodology seems to be generally agreed upon by most scholars (Trigger 1982:17; Lurie 1961:78-79; Fenton 1962:2).

> We are left to conclude that, like archaeology, any exclusive definition of ethnohistory depends primarily on methodological considerations. Ethnohistory is a special set of techniques and methods for studying culture through the use of written and oral traditions. As methodology it is complementary not only to archaeology, but also to historical linguistics, ethnography and paleobiology [Carmack 1972:232].

The complementary nature of ethnohistory and archaeology has been the guiding force behind of a recent volume on postcontact change among native groups in the Americas entitled Ethnohistory and Archaeology (Rogers and Wilson 1993). Other notable examples of this approach to the study of culture contact include Jones' (1988) study of the 18th century Wea along the central Wabash, Berkson's (1992) study of the Kickapoo in central Illinois (late 18th to the early 19th century) and Wagner's (1995) study of the Potawatomi during the early 19th century in northeastern Illinois. The effective combination of these two methodologies are viewed as indispensable to the understanding of culture change during the contact period (Wilson and Rogers 1993:6). It is in the same spirit that an evaluation of the research questions presented below are undertaken:

> Ethnohistory and archaeology offer a record of change that contributes to a reevaluation of current attitudes toward American Indians and other native peoples caught up in the European expansion that began in the Americas in 1492 [Wilson and Rogers 1993:8].

Research Questions

1. What is the chronology of the historic occupation of 12-Hu-1022 and what are the tribal and /or ethnic affiliations of the historic occupants of the site?

Located at the forks of the Wabash, an important link in the Maumee-Wabash trade route, the region surrounding 12-Hu-1022 was the scene of intense aboriginal and Euro-american activity throughout much of the 18th and 19th centuries. An examination of the material culture recovered from the site, combined with a critical evaluation of the documentary record should allow for the ethnic labeling of the site as well as place the site within its proper chronologic framework; what Mason (1976:351) calls site-unit ethnicity. "Site-unit ethnicity is dependent on the existence of one or more historical documents that can be related to a specific site or component of a site, which in turn yields corroborating [artifactual] evidence..." (Mason 1976:351). For though much of the European-introduced material culture remained essentially unchanged throughout the 150+ year span of historic native occupation of the Wabash Valley, certain classes of artifacts are potentially diagnostic of much more brief periods of time.

Contemporary sources, including accounts of military and diplomatic expeditions, traders' and travelers' journals and missionary accounts to name but a few, provide a reasonably detailed history of the Maumee-Wabash region. When evaluated alongside the artifactual assemblage, the documentary record should aid not only in pinning down the chronology of the site, but by doing so should also establish the ethnic and/or tribal affiliations of the site occupants.

2. What subsistence activities were taking place at the site and what do these activities say about the seasonality of the site and the nature of the exploitable resources in the upper Wabash region?

Excavations at the site recovered a substantial amount of both faunal and floral material. Recovery techniques that included both floatation and fine screening optimized the chances for extracting microfloral remains as well as minute faunal materials. The floral and faunal remains were submitted to independent experts for identification and analysis. Their findings, presented in Chapters 9 and 10 of this report, provide an accurate and detailed picture of the subsistence activities of the site occupants during the historic period.

The documentary record may reveal the ways--including hunting, gathering and farming techniques--in which native groups procured the resources uncovered archaeologically. Contemporary sources may also shed light on the preparation and consumption of certain foods.

3. How does the site fit into the regional settlement patterns of the aboriginal groups (primarily the Miami) known to have inhabited the Maumee-Wabash valley region during the 18th and 19th centuries?

This question may be best addressed through a careful examination of the documentary record due to the paucity of archaeological evidence concerning the location, size, function or affiliations of historic aboriginal sites in the Maumee-Wabash valley region. Two notable exceptions being the work on an 18th

century aboriginal village located along the central Wabash River in present day Tippecanoe County, Indiana and recent work at site 12-Hu-935, located just up river from 12-Hu-1022 (see Jones 1988; Trubowitz 1992 and Sherman 1996). Comparison of these sites with 12-Hu-1022, in terms of archaeologically discernible factors such as location, size, artifact density, ect., may provide some information on historic native settlement patterns.

On the other hand, historical sources--both primary and secondary--provide a reasonably detailed account of the historic aboriginal occupation of this region. A myriad of factors, including scarcity or abundance of exploitable resources (environment), the fur trade, military alliances, warfare, inter-tribal and inter-village politics, and Euro-american encroachment appear in the historical documents to have influenced the movement of native peoples both into and out of the Maumee-Wabash region throughout the 18th and well into the 19th centuries.

4. How does the site address the issues of acculturation, cultural continuity and/or resistance to Euro-american value systems? The concept of ethnic identity is thought to provide a convenient framework for the evaluation of these issues and their place within ethnic-based identity systems.

The artifacts recovered from the site should, to some degree, reflect the processes of acculturation--generally considered to represent the addition or incorporation of exogenous values and beliefs into a cultural system at the cost of traditional values and beliefs--and continuity--the retention of traditional values and beliefs, whether by passive or active means. Artifacts were assigned to functional/activity groups in order to assess which aspects of native culture seemed to be most influenced by the introduction of European manufactured goods. The acceptance of European goods by aboriginal groups is generally thought to represent evidence of acculturation (see Jones 1988:51-52 and Brown 1979). It is proposed here that such groupings of artifacts might just as well reflect continuity of traditional values (ethnic identity). Fitzhugh (1985:6) has emphasize the necessity of examining European introduced material culture found on historic Indian sites "in terms of context, function, and the manner in which they were obtained, modified, and distributed within various societies." Jones (1988:51) seems to have had much the same thing in mind; "artifacts may be put to different uses in a culture other than those for which they were originally intended, and the artifacts may have different meanings to the people using them."

Though relatively sparse, contemporary documents do shed some light on the selection and use of European goods by Native Americans. Trade lists and contemporary accounts are of particular importance for they provide a record of what was materially available to native groups, what types of European goods were selected by these groups and, in some rare but insightful cases, how these goods were used and modified by native consumers. In this way the documentary record can serve as a check against what was recovered archaeologically at the site. Wagner (1995) has pointed out, what does not show up archaeologically at historic aboriginal sites may be just as important as what does appear in the archaeological record. The absence of European goods known to have been available to native groups may be a sensitive indicator of what Wagner (1995) and others (Berkson 1992) refer to as cultural resistance.

The issue of cultural resistance is subsumed here under the concept of ethnic identity--conceived of in the present study as an adaptive strategy (see Royce 1982:185) which could be used to foster resistance to Euro-american values and beliefs. The archaeological record, as revealed in excavations at 12-Hu-1022, and the documentary record are examined to determine the degree to which the major components of ethnicity are reflected in each. These are generally accepted to be, a mother tongue, an ethnic-oriented religion and folkways (see Anderson and Frideres 1981:37). Folkways can include, but are not limited to, dress, architecture, recreation and foodways. Foodways have been aptly defined as "the whole interrelated system of food conceptualization, procurement, distribution, preservation, preparation and consumption shared by all members of a particular group" (Anderson in Deetz 1977:50).

Several studies--archaeological, ethnohistorical or combinations of the two--have attempted to document the influence of ethnicity in past cultures. Ethnohistorians have delved into the subject of personal and ethnic identity at the level of the individual. Studies of such historical figures as Billy Caldwell and Alexander McKee have examined the role of ethnicity in shaping personal identity (Clifton 1978; Nelson 1992). Stanley South's (1977:93) pioneering work established the link between artifact patterning and the ethnicity of site occupants and the several studies published in Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity demonstrated the potential for the archaeological investigation of ethnicity (Schuyler 1980).

> Clearly, historical archaeologists are in a good position to test theories concerning ethnic boundary maintenance... Archaeologists, through the integration of archaeological and documentary information, can provide both diachronic and material culture data for the testing of theories concerning ethnic groups [McGuire 1982:175].

Closer in time and space to the current subject matter, the ethnic identity of French Canadians inhabiting the Wabash valley during the 19th century has been the subject of recent archaeological and ethnohistorical investigations (Mann 1994a; Mann 1994b).

While most ethnicity studies of historic aboriginal groups have focused on trying to correlate "ethnic identity with particular Native American archaeological sites" (Walthall and Emerson 1992:5; see Mason 1976 for example), Heber has recently made use of an "ethnic model" of cultural change:

> In anthropological studies of American Indians, social and change is usually addressed from the perspective of culture, and Indian groups are generally referred to in terms of a cultural identity. An alternative to the cultural model for the study of Amerindian social and cultural change is ethnicity in which the perception and expression of ethnic identity by individual groups of Indian people is the vehicle through which change occurs [1989:55].

Ethnic identity, as employed in the present study, is viewed as an agent of both change and continuity.

Chapter 5. Miami Ethnohistory

Introduction

The Miami--an Algonquian tribe initially consisting of at least six sub-tribes or groups--were one of several Algonquian cultures inhabiting the upper Great Lakes at the time of initial European contact during the seventeenth century. Though a detailed recounting of Miami history is outside the compass of the current work, the following outline is presented to provide a construction of the past--a historic context--against which the archaeological and ethnohistorical interpretations can then be projected. To facilitate the narrative, Miami history is divided into five periods, the end of each representing a significant event in tribal history. Considerably more detail is presented for periods III-V for these are the periods during which the forks of the Wabash villages were occupied by the Miami.

General accounts of the Miami can be found in Callender (1978), Kinietz (1940), Berthrong (1974) and Anson (1970). Of the six sub-tribes--the Atchatchakangouen, the Kilatika, the Mengakonkia, the Pepikokia, the Wea and the Piankashaw (see Callender 1978:681)--only the Wea have been the subject of intensive ethnohistorical and archaeological investigation (Jones 1988). The following is a further attempt to rectify Callender's (1978:689) assertion that "On the whole, the Miami cannot be described as well known" (see Jones 1988:3).

Period I (ca. 1654-1691)

> The sixth Nation, whose people are called Oumamik [Miami], is distant sixty leagues, or thereabout, from St. Michel. It has fully eight thousand men, or more than twenty-four thousand souls [Thwaites 1959:44:247].

This statement, set down in 1658 by the Jesuit Father, Gabriel Dreuillettes, apparently in reference to Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers' ca. 1654 expedition to the Indian villages around Green Bay, marks the first recorded reference to the Miami (Kinietz 1940:162). The Miami had fled their home villages around the southern end of Lake Michigan to join other "refugee" groups clustering in the vicinity of Green Bay (Figure 6).

These "refugees"--the primarily Algonquian peoples of the Upper Great Lakes and Ohio River Valley, an area called by the French the *pays d'en haut*--were in retreat from the Iroquois onslaught into the region which had begun in the 1640s. This intermittant, though periodically intense, warfare was an attempt by the Iroquois to access the fur rich hunting grounds of the *pays d'en haut* (Tanner 1987:29-35 and White 1991:1-49 provide concise accounts of these so-called Iroquois Wars). It is at one such refugee village--a joint Mascouten and Miami village and likely the same one earlier visited by Radisson and Groseillers--that the first detailed account of the Miami was recorded.

The French had by the middle of the 17th century firmly established themselves along the St. Lawrence River and were making considerable inroads into the Great Lakes region. The primary resources of this region--as seen from the French point of view--were the fur bearing animals harvested by the Algonquians. The fur trade had become the most successful commerial enterprise of New France. This situation put them in direct conflict with the Iroquois, who had similar aspirations about the western fur trade. In 1665 the *Carignan-Salières*, a crack infantry regiment, arrived in New France and secured the French settlements along the St. Lawrence from Iroquois depredations and cleared the way for French fur traders to reach the *pays d'en haut* (Balesi 1991:5-8).

One such intrepid soul was Nicholas Perrot, who upon entering the *pays d'en haut* in ca. 1665 would spend over three decades engaged in the fur trade of the region. Upon his arrival in the *pays d'en haut*, Perrot was invited to visit the joint Mascouten and Miami village on the Fox River, located about five days journey from Green Bay (Figure 6). He arrived at the hill top village where he was met by "the great chief of the Miamis...at the head of more than three thousand men, accompanied by the chiefs of other tribes who formed part of the village" (La Potherie in Jones 1988:65). Perrot described the chiefs as being naked except for ornately decorated moccasins--probably porcupine quill work, and carrying calumets--long-stemmed stone (catlinite?) pipes decorated with feathers (Jones 1988:65).

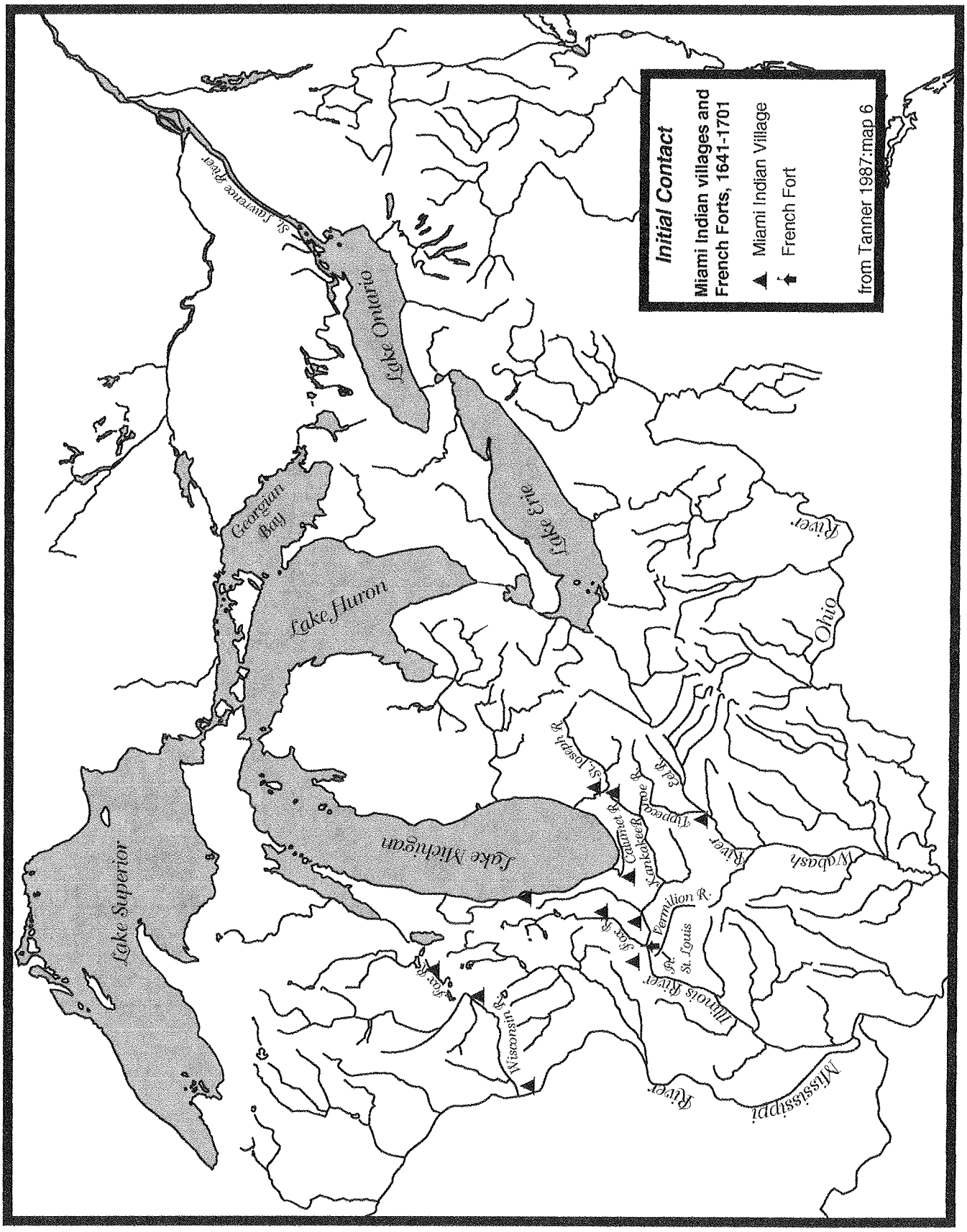


Figure 6. Miami Indian Villages and French Forts, 1641-1701.

The following day Perrot distributed gifts, arrogantly describing the superiority of the European goods over native equivalents, saying, "I am the dawn of that light, which is beginning to appear in your lands, as it were, that which precedes the sun, who will soon shine brightly and will cause you to be born again, as if in another land, where you will find more easily and in greater abundance, all that can be necessary to man" (La Potherie in White 1991:7). The gun he gave being "more satisfactory in hunting cattle [buffalo] and other animals than are all the arrows that you use"; a kettle (probably copper) that could be carried "everywhere without fear of breaking it"; iron awls which were "much easier to use" than their bone equivalents; iron knives "more useful to you in killing beavers and in cutting your meat than are the pieces of stone that you use" and glass beads to "better adorn your children and girls than do their usual ornaments" (La Potherie in Jones 1988:66). Perrot betrayed his real interest in equipping the Miami when he promoted the use of iron knives to better enable the Miami and Mascouten to kill beaver. Unfortunately for Perrot, up until that time the Miami had singed the hair from their beaver in preparation for eating them and could give him no furs (White 1991:7; Jones 1988:66).

With this the Miami were introduced to the material world of the Europeans and to the means by which they could access these goods--the fur trade. Though the utilitarian superiority of these goods could not have been lost on the Miami--Fitting (1976:328-329) has estimated that a single iron tool had the efficiency of 23 stone tools and that one copper kettle was roughly equivelant to 60 ceramic vessels--it was the symbolic appeal of European goods that drew the Miami and other Algonquian groups into ever deepening relationships with the French (see White 1991:99-104). Algonquians "integrated these valued goods into a series of social relationships on which the honor, power, and prestige of both individuals and groups depended" (White 1991:104).

Five years later (1670) Father Jean Claude Allouez visited a Mascouten-Miami village near the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers (Figure 6). This, and subsequent visits in 1671 and 1672 provide other early glimpses of Miami life at the time of initial contact. Allouez and the other Jesuit fathers came to the *pays d'en haut* for the second most sought after commodity of the region, the souls of *les sauvages*:

> landing opposite the Village and leaving our canoe at the water's edge, after walking a league through beautiful Prairies, we perceived the Fort [a palisaded village]. The Savages, espying us, immediately gave the cry in their Village, hastened to meet us, and accompanied us with honor into the cabin of the chief, where refreshments were straightway brought to us, and the feet and legs of the Frenchmen with me were annointed with oil. Afterward a feast was prepared...
>
> Toward evening, I gathered them together, and made them a present of glass Beads, Knives, and Hatchets...I then explained to them the articles of our holy Faith and God's Commandments [Thwaites 1959:54:231]

At the time of his visit, Allouez found that the majority of the Miami were out on the hunt. He described those that were there as being "gentle, affable, sedate; they also speak slowly"; "Their language is in harmony with their disposition" (Thwaites 1959:54:231). One year later Allouez returned to this village where he attended several feasts designed, it seems, to invoke the power of the Black Robe (Allouez) for "obtaining, through us, either recovery from their ailments, or good success in their hunting and in war" (Thwaites 1959:55:203). The Miami may have yet considered the Jesuit a manitou or other-than-human person though he had attempted to dispell that belief the year before:

> an Old man arose and, turning to me, with both hands full of tobacco which he took from the dish, harangued me as follows: "This is well black Gown, that thou comest to visit us. Take pity on us; thou art a Manitou...Hear me Manitou; I give thee tobacco to smoke. Let the earth give us corn, and the rivers yield us fish; let not disease kill us any more, or famine treat us any longer so harshly!"...I told them it was not I to whom their vows must be addressed; that in our necessities I had

> recourse to Prayer to him who is the only and true God...I told them that he was the sole Master of all things, as well as of their lives, I being only his servant and envoy [Thwaites 1959:54:229, 231].

The feast described by Allouez in 1671was evidently a war feast, in preparation for a raid against their enemies, the Nadouessi or Dakota Sioux. From his description we learn something of Miami cultural beliefs:

> Of this sort was a feast to which we were called, where a very peculiar ceremony was observed. It seemed to be a feast for fighting, and not for eating; for in the place of a table, a sort of trophy had been erected, on which had been hung all a warrior's arms,--bow, arrows, quiver, and a war-hatchet,--together with provisions, namely a little meal and some tobacco; with other articles commonly carried on their persons by the Warriors of this country, to give them renewed courage for fighting [Thwaites 1959:55:203].

When Allouez returned in 1672, more refugees had apparently settled at the village which he now found to be composed of "twenty Cabins of ilinoués (Illinois), thirty large cabins of Kikabou (Kickapoo), Fifty of Machkoutench (Mascouten), Over ninety of miamiak (Miami), [and] three ouaouiatanoukak (Wea)"; these cabins were "made, according to their fashion, of rush matting" (Thwaites 1959:58:23).

Perhaps the best physical description of the Miami during this early period comes from Father Jacques Marquette, who along with the trader Louis Jolliet and five other Frenchmen set out in 1673 to find and explore the river the natives called Mississippi. In June the small party arrived at the Miami-Mascouten-Kickapoo village, on the edge of the French frontier:

> Here is the limit of the discoveries which the French have made. For they have not yet gone any farther.
>
> This Village Consists of three Nations who have gathered there--Miamis, Maskoutens, and Kikabous. The former are the most civil, the most liberal, and the most shapely. They wear two long locks over their ears, which give them a pleasing appearance. They are regarded as warriors, and rarely undertake expeditions without being successful. They are very docile, and listen quietly to What is said to Them...As Bark for making Cabins is scarce in this country, They use Rushes; these serve Them for making walls and Roofs, but do not afford them much protection against the winds, and still less against the rains when they fall abundantly. The Advantage of Cabins of this kind is, that they make packages of Them, and easily transport them wherever they wish, while they are hunting [Thwaites 1959:59:101, 103].

The reputation of the Miami as capable warriors was no doubt encouraging to the French who were quickly learning that the only way to combat the Iroquois depredations, and consequently English infiltration into the *pays d'en haut*, was military alliance with the Algonquian nations. The suffering of the refugees at the hands of the Iroquois was a constant theme. They told Father Allouez in 1670 that the "Nadouessious and the Iroquois are eating us" (Thwaites 1959:54:229). Their villages were palisaded "for the common defense against the Iroquois, who pursue them even into these remote districts" (Thwaites 1959:55:201). The battles fought between the Miami and the Iroquois (Seneca) became part of the tribal lore recorded nearly two hundred years later by a government appointed ethnographer, C. C. Trowbridge (1938:75-77).

For the Miami and the rest of the native inhabitants of the *pays d'en haut* military alliance with the French leveled the playing field and allowed the Algonquians to fend off the Iroquois. It also allowed for greater access to European goods, which though they greatly desired, they repeatedly demonstrated that they could forego when unnecessary risks were involved or when they were simply unavailable (see White 1991:128-141). By the 1680s the French, namely Robert Cavelier de La Salle, who along with the Illinois

and other allied Indians was going on the offensive against the Iroquois, had initiated negotiations with the Miami. Though initially unsure--some may have even contemplated alliance with the Iroquois against the Illinois (see Jones 1988:79)--the Miami eventually decided to cast their fate with La Salle and the French. In ca. 1680 La Salle visited the Miami villages on the St. Joseph River, near the portage between that river and the Kankakee (Figure 6). At least a portion of the Miami and some Mascouten had apparently moved to the St. Joseph River sometime between 1673 and 1679 (Berthrong 1974:24). His arrival, which frightened off some Iroquois warriors who were in the area, made a favorable impression on the Miami:

> Their [Iroquois] flight had a very good effect on the minds of the Miamis, who were surprised to see that these Iroquois, who had not been afraid of the twelve or fifteen hundred men composing the Miami tribe, nor of the fifty Indians from New England, had been so frightened at the sight of a small number of Frenchmen who were incensed against them, that they had escaped by night, almost entirely naked, leaving behind their beaver skins and everything they most valued [Margry in Jones 1988:81-82].

During the next decade (the 1690s) the Algonquians and the French managed to put the Iroquois on the defensive and carried the war into Iroquoia. As the Iroquois threat faded and the lands west of Lake Michigan and north of the Ohio became safe to inhabit once more, the refugee villages--often the scene of famine and disease-- disbanded and the Miami continued to migrate east and southeast. The miserable conditions in the refugee population centers is perhaps reflected in the movement of the Miami--though Sieur Deliette, nephew of Henri de Toni, noted that they were known to "remain settled in one place a very short time" [Illinois Historical Collections (IHC) 23:392]. For while the Five Nations would not be completely quelled until 1701, Deliette recorded that 1691 saw the Miami settle upon the banks of the Wabash River (Berthrong 1974:130; Jones 1988:89). "The Wabash River...on which part of the Miami are settled, is a very beautiful river, and all the savages call it such...It is the most beautiful country in the world as regards soil" (IHC 23:393-394).

Period II (1691-1760)

With the support and prodding of the French, the eastward migrations of the Miami served as a buffer against Iroquois raids into the *pays d'en haut* (Jones 1988:94). Iroquois pleas for English assistance fell on deaf ears as the the effects of world politics began to be felt in the *pays d'en haut*. In 1698 the French and the British came to terms and ended a conflict which began in 1689 and was known in North America as King William's War (Barnhart and Riker 1971:63). The English, in a pattern that would become all too familiar to Native Americans, abandoned the Iroquois in order to secure peace with France. With their homeland now under attack, the Iroquois sued for peace. A preliminary peace agreement was reached in Montreal in 1700; the western tribes represented by the Huron and the Ottawa, the Iroquois were represented by the Seneca and the Onondaga (Tanner 1987:34). The next year--following councils at Onondaga (the diplomatic headquarters of the Five Nations) and Albany--peace was finally ratified at Montreal at what was known as the Grand Settlement of 1701 (Tanner 1987:34; White 1991:49).

The opening of the 18th century finds the Miami--and the rest of the Algonquians--struggling to come to grips with their new military allies and trading partners, the French. Each side, in attempting to attain their own goals, of necessity had to arrive "at some common conception of suitable ways of acting..."; what White has termed "the middle ground" (1991:50). The middle ground is a useful concept for it allows Native American, in this case the Miami, motivations to be considered on equal footing with European motivations. It makes clear the fact that the actions of the Miami--both as a group and individually--were dictated not by external forces but by the Miami themselves. Where these actions were congruent with French aims, the middle ground was acheived, where they diverged, conflict usually resulted. However, both sides quickly learned that military might would not carry the day:

> The middle ground depended on the inability of both sides to gain their ends through force. The middle ground grew according to the

> need of people to find a means, other than force, to gain the cooperation or consent of foreigners [White 1991:52].

Thus, as the French set out to establish a colony in the *pay d'en haut*, they had in mind a system whereby posts would be established at strategic points and allied Indian groups would be concentrated around the posts which could then serve as trading centers as well as military garrisons (Barnhart and Riker 1971:63). The Algonquians, however, had their own ideas about settlement once the Iroquois threat had been removed and the French soon learned that "missions and forts were not magnets that pulled the Indians together...", they "could butress but could not sustain population concentrations" (White 1991:23).

In the first decade of the 18th century the Miami were scattered across the *pays d'en haut*; at Chicago, at the St. Joseph River of Lake Michigan, near the confluence of the Des Plaines and Kankakee rivers, on the Mississippi, at a village known as Atihipe-Catouy and on the Wabash (Berthrong 1974:130; Jones 1988:99-100). Atihipe-Catouy may have been the Wabash village mentioned by Deliette in 1691. Nonetheless, the Wea had established themselves on the Wabash by at least 1706 (Jones 1988:99-100).

In keeping with their policy, the French tried to entice the Miami to move nearer the French posts and away from British traders and influences. The principal posts in the early years of the 18th century were Fort St. Joseph and Fort Pontchartrain as well as a trading post at Chicago (see Tanner 1987:Map 9). In 1701 Antoine Laumet, Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac had established Fort Pontchartrain at the staits between Lake Huron and Lake Erie; Detroit. Cadillac reported in 1703 that several families of Miami had settled near the fort (Lajeunesse 1960:20-23). Within four years (1707) he had persuaded some of the St. Joseph Miami "who number 400 men bearing arms, and were a long way from Detroit, to come and settle at the Maurepas River which is only 12 leagues away" (Cadillac in Berthrong 1974:130). Berthrong interpretes the Maurepas River as being the Maumee River (1974:130).

The results of this migration, though, were probably not those envisioned by Cadillac for shortly after their arrival on the Maumee he was forced to march against these Miami. He found their village--"a simple square inclosed (sic) with crossed stakes, and...no bastions or other works flanking it" (Cadillac in Berthrong 1974:131)--somewhere above the rapids of the Maumee. Rather than force a fight, Cadillac negociated a truce and returned to Detroit (Berthrong 1974:131). By 1718 the Miami on the Maumee had moved to the headwaters of that river (Figure 7). Jacques-Charles de Sabrevois, commandant at Detroit described this village, which was called Kekionga or Kiskakon, and its inhabitants:

> The miamis are Sixty leagues from Lake Eerie. They number 400 men, all shapely and well tattooed. They have an abundance of women. They are very industrious...From this village of the Miamis there is a portage of three leagues to a very Narrow little river [Wisconsin Historical Collections WHC 16:375].

This source, dated 1718, is one of the earliest written references to the "long portage" between the Maumee and Wabash rivers, via the Little River. Guilliame Delisle's 1703 *Carte du Mexique et de la Floride*, based on letters, memoirs and reports, shows that this portage had been known at an early date (Tucker 1942:5) (Figure 8). LaSalle may have travelled over the portage sometime prior to 1680 (Glenn 1991a:17-18). Delisle's 1718 *Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi* is a much improved map, showing more accurately the portage at the headwaters of the Maumee--an indication of how quickly the French moved to chart this region following the arrival of the Miami upon the Maumee (Figure 9).

After crossing the portage and making the Wabash, Sabrevois descended to the Wea towns on the central Wabash, near present day Lafayette, Indiana (Figure 7). His description of this settlement and the Wea are, as he notes, also representative of the Miami in general:

> It is on the ouabache River that the Ouyatanons are Settled. They have five villages, all built close together...They speak like the miamis, and are their brothers; and indeed all the miamis have the same customs and style of dress. They number fully one thousand or twelve hundred men. They have one custom which is not found among any other nations--they keep their fort very clean. They do not allow any grass to grow

> there, and the whole fort is strewn with Sand, like the Thyleris [Tuileries Palace in Paris]; and if a dog drops any excretement about the fort, The women pick Them up and carry Them outside...Games and dances without end take Place among them. All these nations use a great deal of vermillion. the women cover themselves, but The men wear very few clothes [WCH 16:376].

Meanwhile at the Wabash, the Wea were dictating the terms of settlement. When in 1715 the French learned of British plans to build a post and "storehouse" on the Wabash, they renewed pressure on the Wea to relocate to Chicago (Jones 1988:104-105). The Wea responded by requesting instead that the French, in effect, come to them:

> Sieur de Bellestre [Ensign François-Marie Picoté Sieur de Belestre] has informed me that, in order to reassure the minds of the ouyatanons, my son has led them to hope that the Marquis de Vaudreuil [Governor-General of New France] would, in accordance with their request, send them an officer and a missionary--which seems a matter of importance...
>
> In allowing them this officer and this missionary, they must, if possible, be persuaded to transfer Their village, so as to remove 130 leagues from the English. Sieur dupuy, who was there last winter believes that he could succeed in this [WHC 16:236].

In 1717 the Sieur de Belestre, with four soldiers, three other Frenchmen and a blacksmith, arrived on the Wabash to carry out what the French hoped was only a temporary appeasement of the Wea, the establishment of Fort Ouiatanon. Indeed, in 1720 it looked as if the French might get their wish, for fifty Wea made a half-hearted and short-lived move to the Kankakee River where they remained for a year before returning to the Wabash (Jones 1988:114-115).

French fears of English and Iroquois infiltration into the *pays d'en haut* continued; with good reason. Jean-Baptiste Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, a French officer sent to live among the Miami, related that the Iroquois had sent wampum belts--a traditional form of communication among eastern woodland peoples--to the Miami inviting them to "seek the necessities of life at a (British) post established on the Oyo (Ohio) river." The Iroquois promised the Miami that they "will find there merchandise, a half cheaper than among the French who trrannize (sic) over them" (Roy 1923:71-72). Vincennes, and later his son, François-Marie Bissot, came to have great influence over the Miami. Though he endeavored and largely succeeded in keeping the Miami within the French fold, he could not induce them to abandon the Maumee and his death at Kekionga in 1719 only strengthened their resolve to stay. Vaudreuil reported in1719 that:

> These two nations [the Wea and Miami] have not yet made any move to go, the one to the St. Joseph river and the other to the Teatiky [Kankakee]. They promised me, by speeches which I received from them last summer, that they would not fail to go to those places this autumn, but they have changed their mind, since that time, because I learned by the last letters which have come to me from the Miamis that the Sr. de Vincennes, being dead in their village, the Indians have decided not to go to the river St. Joseph, but to stay where they are [Roy 1923:73].

Within two years of Vincenne's death, Vaudreuil had abandoned any hopes "of drawing the Miami to the River St. Joseph and the Wea to the banks of the Kankakee..." Vaudreuil in Berthrong 1974:134).

As the second decade of the 18th century opened the Miami, and ostensibly the French, were in control of the Maumee-Wabash waterway (Figure7). The Miami at the headwaters of the Maumee held sway over the Maumee-Wabash portage, while the Wea watched over the central Wabash. The lower Wabash was the domain of the Piankashaw, another sub-group of the Miami. They had established themselves on the lower Wabash by at least 1720, at which time they were reportedly trading with French

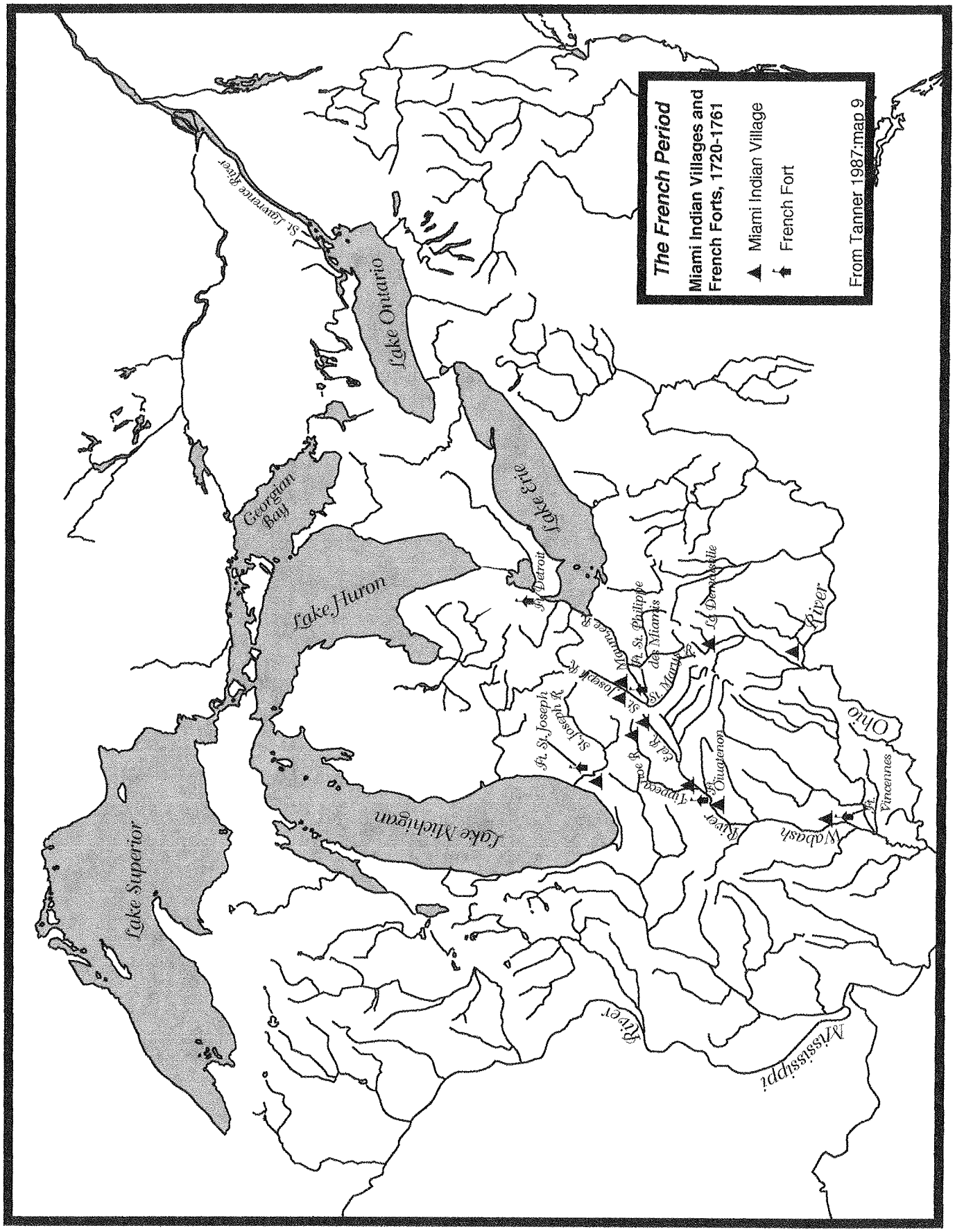


Figure 7. Miami Indian Villages and French Forts, 1720-1761.

Figure 8. Delisle's Map of 1703 (Tucker 1942: Pl.13).

Figure 9. Delisle's Map of 1718 (Tucker 1942: Pl.15).

Canadians from Kaskaskia (Temple 1966:74). The Maumee-Wabash waterway assumed new importance at this time as warfare between the Fox (Mesquakie) of the Wisconsin region and the French escalated (see Edmunds and Peyser 1993 for a detailed discussion of the "Fox Wars").

Though Fox-French relations had long been strained, primarily due to the French insistance on trading directly with the Sioux, perpetual enemies of the Fox, hostilities between the two intensified following the seige and destruction of the Fox village at Detroit in 1712 (Tanner 1987:42). Fox retaliation was swift and effective. By 1714 the western fur trade had been thrown into chaos as Fox warriors roamed the *pays d'en haut* striking both French traders and their Indian allies, including the Miami. Claude de Ramezay, Acting Governor-General of New France wrote in 1714 that the allied Indians were in a "pitiable situation...dying of hunger in their cabins, not daring to leave them to go hunting on account of their well-grounded fear that the Reynards [Foxes] will destroy them all, one after the other" (Ramezay in Edmunds and Peyser 1993:77). In that year alone Fox raiding parties killed seventy-seven Illinois Indians, all but closed the Mackinac-Green Bay-Mississippi water route and seriously hampered traffic at the Chicago portage (Balesi 1991:156). By 1722 the Fox had virtually shut down travel on the Kankakee-Illinois water route, closing yet another route to the Mississippi River and cutting communications between the French colonies of Canada and Louisiana (Balesi 1991:15). Travelling this route in 1721, Father Pierre François-Xavier de Charlevoix warned "one must be on his guard, not to get waylaid by the raiding parties of Sioux and Outagamis [Foxes], that the country of the Illinois, their mortal enemy attracts and who give no quarter to the French that they meet on their way" (Charlevoix in Balesi 1991:160). The Maumee-Wabash route then became the primary means of communication and trade between the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes. This in turn increased Miami-French interaction and heightened French anxieties to secure this vital link from the Fox and the British. In October, 1722 Vaudreiul wrote that the previous August he had sent Captain Charles Renaud Du Buisson:

> to establish a post among the Miamis and to be in command of this post, as well as the Ouyatanons and to have him sent to the Miamis, to prevent the effects of the practices which the English continue to use, to attract the Indians to Orange. I tried to take the most just measures to stop these practices or at least to render them useless and I hope to succeed by the name of Sr. de Buisson who formerly wiped away the anger of a part of these savages on an occaision when they were not allowed to have any more French brandy. By his wisdom he knew how to manage them in such a way that in the end he succeeded in making them more docile than they were before.
>
> The log fort which he had built and which was finished last May is the finest in the upper country. It is a strong fort and safe from insult from the savages [Roy 1923:82-83].

The new post, called Fort Saint Philippe des Miamis or simply Fort Miamis, formed yet another link in the chain of post from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Fort Miamis also served as a staging area for French expeditions against the enemies of the French and allied tribes, most notably the Fox and the Chickasaws. Throughout the 1720s the Fox continued their hit and run tactics and in particular the fighting between the Fox and the Illinois intensified. In 1726 delegates from the Illinois, Otoe, Missouria and Osage traveled to France to plead their case for French assistance in quashing the Fox to Louis XV (Edmunds and Peyser 1993:103).

After failed diplomacy and abortive military expeditions, the Fox wars finally came to a climax in the late summer of 1730. Finding their position in Wisconsin--their traditional homeland--untenable, that summer the Fox began a long and, they hoped, secretive migration east to their only remaining allies, the Seneca. Their planned route east was to take them through the Wea and Miami villages of the upper Wabash and Fox runners were sent there in advance to ask for permission to pass. Though still allied to the French, the Miami, not the French, controlled the Wabash and they agreed to allow the Fox to pass (Edmunds and Peyser 1993:135). Unfortunately for the Fox, the French had other plans. They were discovered by Cahokia hunters in the Illinois prairies and forced to abandon their planned route to the Wabash and seek refuge in a grove of trees near a small stream in what is today east-central Illinois. As the

Cahokia were joined by other allied Indians, first Potawatomi, Kickapoo and Mascouten, and later a large contingent of Illinois warriors, the Fox fortified their position and dug in for the coming seige. After nearly two weeks the French, in the figures of Robert Groston de St. Ange, commandant at Fort de Chartres, Nicolas-Antoine Coulon Villiers, commandant at Fort St. Joseph and Simon Réaume, a long time trader at Fort Ouiatanon, arrived on the scene with a combined French and Indian force numbering well over 500 men (Edmunds and Peyser 1993:144).

Things continued to worsen for the Fox, for Villiers had dispatched couriers to Fort Miamis and Kekionga before his departure from the St. Joseph. The commandant at Fort Miamis at this time was Nicolas-Joseph de Noyelle; he had succeed Du Buisson in 1727. Noyelle mustered together over one hundred Miami warriors and ten Frenchmen and set out for the seige (Barnhart and Riker 1971:82; Berthrong 1974:135). When he arrived on September 1, 1730, nearly a month after the seige had begun, he was accompanied by a force of nearly two hundred Huron, Potawatomi and Miami. Worse yet, the Huron carried with them orders from the Governor-General of New France, Charles de la Boische, marquis de Beauharnois--Vaudreuil had died in 1725--sanctioning St. Ange and Villiers's no quarter pronouncement (Edmunds and Peyser 1993: 148). When the final battle came--outside the Fox fort as they attempted to escape in a storm--years of pent up aggressions were unleashed on the Fox; no quarter was expected or given. In the bloodbath that ensued over two hundred warriors and more than three hundred women and children were slaughtered (Edmunds and Peyser 1993:149-156).

With the Fox threat diminished, the Miami once again turned their attentions homeward to the fur trade and to more traditional enemies--the Chickasaw. The premanent French present at Kekionga and Ouiatanon made European goods much more accessible to the Miami. As a result the fur trade at both Kekionga and Ouiatanon increased dramactically after 1730. In that year Detroit, which included returns from both Fort Ouiatanon and Fort Miamis, shipped 1,000 packs of furs to Montreal. This was second only to Michilimacinac, which included the northern posts and which shipped 2,000 packs. In contrast, the Ohio Valley posts (Fort Duquesne and Rivière au Boeuf) shipped 500 packs and the Illinois country only about 400 packs (White 1991:123). The increase in the fur trade and the resulting increase in European goods at Kekionga and Ouiatanon should not be misconstrued as increased dependancy. White (1991:128-141) has convininglly argued this point.

> Taken as a whole, the material day-to-day existence of Indian peoples showed remarkable continuity during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The fur trade barely altered Algonquian housing, transportation and diet...
>
> Indians acquired trade goods at a suprisingly gradual rate. A preexisting native technology survived for a remarkably long time alongside the new technology. Kettles boiled water, knives cut meat, and guns killed game, but they did not chain their users inevitably, inexorably, and immediately to the will of the suppliers [White 1991:132-133].

In other ways, though, the fur trade did much harm to Miami society. Increased contact with French and British traders, military personnel and civilians carried with it devestating side effects--epidemic diseases. Returning from a trading venture in Albany in the summer of 1732, the Miami brought back to Kekionga more than just four hundred casks of brandy. The commandant of Fort Miamis at the time, Nicolas-Marie Renaud (d'Arnaud) Davenne de Desmeloises, reported to Beauharnois that five or six days after their return:

> they staved one (brandy cask) in which was the entire skin of a human hand...nevertheless, it did not stop the course of drunkeness. At the end of three days, two persons who had been well in the evening were buried the next day at eight o'clock in the morning. Thereafter, for more than three weeks, at least four of them died every day [Krauskopf 1955:181].

At first d'Arnaud thought nothing of the deaths which he merely attributed to "excessive drinking." But as the epidemic spread, d'Arnaud acted to get the situation under control. He told the Miami that "they had no good nourishment in their village, and that by dispersing into the woods they would find meat which would give them strength to resist the malady connected with the bad air (from the quantity of dead with which they were surrounded)..." (Krauskopf 1955:181). On his advise, the Miami left for the winter and probably broke up into hunting camps which likely did help control the spread of the disease and save lives. The commandant also dispensed "a very strong nostrum" which he concluded saved the life of a Miami war chief, of whom he was fond, and several other Miami before his supply ran out (Krauskopf 1955:182).

By October the death toll had reached somewhere in the neighborhood of one hundred and fifty and had already spread to the Wea at Ouiatanon and to the Piankashaw further down the Wabash. Both had gone to Kekigona to share in the brandy and carried the disease home to their respective villages. The Wea seem to have been especially hard hit for d'Arnaud received word from Ouiatanon that "almost all are dead" (Krauskopf 1955:182). Though, as Jones (1988:126-127) notes, this was an overstatement, it does point to the severity of the epidemic among the Wea.

Just what caused this outbreak is still somewhat disputed. After examining the dead, d'Arnaud believed the Miami were the victims of "a poison as subtle as it was shrewd, taking effect only after the passage of a considerable time" (Krauskopf 1955: 181-182). Of course, it was to d'Arnaud's advantage to lay the blame on the British in order to discourage the Miamis' continued dealings with British traders. Beauharnois also wanted the Miami to believe that "their disaster is entirely due to the Brandy of the English" (Beauharnois in Jones 1988:127). Most modern researchers have attributed the Miami deaths to smallpox (Krauskopf 1955:182n; Tanner 1987:172). The epidemic seems to have had it start among the Iroquois in 1732 and quickly spread outward from Iroquoia (Tanner 1987:172). The Miami who travelled to Albany that year likely picked up the disease there and transported it back to the Maumee-Wabash country.

All the while the epidemic was raging through the Maumee-Wabash region, the Miami, Wea and Piankashaw, with the support and encouragement of the French, continued to war against the Chickasaw. In fact, Miami and Wea warriors likely transmitted smallpox to the southern tribes during campaigns in 1732, leading to a smallpox epidemic among the Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek in 1733-1734 (Tanner 1987:172). Warriors from Kekionga kept up their assults on the Chickasaw throughout the 1730's and into the 1740's. The French were pleased to abet the traditional Miami-Chickasaw animosities, for the Chickasaw had aligned themselves with the British and were threatening French holdings and trade in the Louisiana colony:

> His Majesty has approved of his having caused the nations which are in a position to harass them, to declare against the Chicachas; of his having again written to the Commandants of the posts of the Miamis, the Ouitanons, and the jillinois to induce their Savages to strike a blow At that nation...[in Jones 1988:128].

In 1738 the commandant at Fort Miamis, Damour de la Morandière, reported that the "young men of his post were leaving every day to go to war on the Chickasaw" (Krauskopf 1955:187). Wea warriors returning from raids on the Chickasaw turned over one Chickasaw prisoner to the Miami at Kekionga who subsequently tortured and then burned their captive (Krauskopf 1955:187). Though the French and their allied Indians did not acheive a decisive military victory over the Chickasaw as they had over the Fox, peace was acheived following a battle in 1740. As a cohesive fighting force the Chickasaw were finished and Miami and other allied Indians continued to raid their once considerable foes well into the 1740s (Balesi 1991:184-185; Berthrong 1974:135).

Despite French exertions to the contary, British influence among the Miami at Kekionga continued to increase throughout the 1730s. François-Marie Bissot, the younger Sieur de Vincennes, who had established a post on the lower Wabash (Vincennes) among the Piankashaw, informed French officals "that the Miamis on the portage (Kekionga) and those of the Weas where Sieur Despervance is in command are determined to go this autumn and settle near them (the English)..." (in Jones 1988:132). The pull of the British was beginning to cause friction among the Miami and in 1741 it erupted into violence. La Peau Blanche, a Wea war chief, killed a Miami man from Kekionga who was returning from a visit, probably to

trade, among the English (Krauskopf 1955:189-190). Infuriated, the warriors at Kekionga prepared to raid Ouiatanon. The French commandant at the Miamis, Charles François Tarieu de La Pérade, intervened and assured the Miami that he "would bring back the murderer upon their mat and that they could dispose of him to their liking..." (Krauskopf 1955:189). The Miami agreed to the terms and La Pérade "left with five Frenchmen to go to the Ouiatanon in order to fulfill the promise which I had made, to calm the trouble that this war was going to cause" (Krauskopf 1955:189). La Pérade returned to Kekionga with La Peau Blanche where he likely met his end at the burning stake. As an additional act of appeasement the commandant at Ouiatanon sent a quantity of trade goods to Kekionga (Krauskopf 1955:149).

By 1747 the rift at Kekionga was widening. Orontony (Nicolas), a Huron-Petun from the Detroit region had followed other disaffected Huron-Petuns to the Sandusky region along the southwesten shore of Lake Erie around 1740. There they broke from the Huron-Petuns at Detroit and from the French and took the name Wyandots, an ancient name for the Huron which had not been used for several generations (White 1991:196). Orontony would emerge as the leader of the Sandusky Wyandot and sometime in the mid-1740s formally broke off relations with the French and sought British aid. Aware of the building resentment among some Algonquians against the high cost and perpetual shortage of French trade goods in the *pays d'en haut*, Orontony sent belts out to several nations appealing for a general uprising:

> The Miamis, and perhaps the also the Ouyatanons, are in disorder. The former allowed themselves to be gained by the belt of Nicolas, who represented to them that Detroit had been razed by the Lake tribes; that consequently they would no longer defer killing the French who were among them. The Miamis have listened to this message [in Jones 1988:145].

The pro-Orontony Miami at Kekionga, led by La Demoiselle or Old Brition, who listened to his belt rose against the French at Fort Miamis. These warriors seized eight Frenchmen at the fort, pillaged property around the fort and burned some buildings (Barnhart and Riker 1971:96). This so-called "Conspiracy of 1747" never really developed and a planned assault on Detroit evaporated as a large shipment of trade goods arrived, accompanied by a large military contingent (Rawlyk 1975:47).

Many of the Miami at Kekionga remained loyal to the French and acted quickly to restore their friendship with the French:

> The Miami who had previously pillaged the propery of the fort [of the Miami] and who had seized the French, delegated one of their principal chiefs to M. de Longueüil to beg him to send them Frenchmen again and not to deprive them of the aid which they could not do without, promising him that affairs would right themselves in a little while [Krauskopf 1955:207].

Realizing the importance of keeping a post at the Maumee-Wabash portage, Paul-Joseph le Moyne de Longueüil, commandant at Detroit, sent an ensign--Louis-Jacques-Charles Renault Dubuission--with thirty Frenchmen to "make only a little establishment to pass the winter" at the headwaters of the Maumee (Krauskopf 1955:207). Throughout the winter Dubuission held councils with the Miami at Kekionga and managed to at least secure some of the plundered property from the Miami, with which he returned to Detroit in the spring of 1748 (Barnhart and Riker 1971:97). His councils, though, were only partially effective.

Some Miami--La Demoiselle chief among them--remained pro-British. The rift had led to factionalization. The Governor of New France at the time, Michel Rolland Barin, Comte de la Galissonière, described the Miami as being divided into "two parties...[the] one that appears attached to the French is, I believe, the most considerable, and has remained at the village [on the upper Maumee]" (in Berthrong 1974:139). Although other factions within Miami society existed or were developing about the same time (see White 1991:216-219), it was the departure of La Demoiselle from Kekionga that most concerned both the Miami and the French. Kekionga was home at the time to Piedfroid (Coldfoot), whom the French considered the principal chief of the Miami tribe. La Demoiselle was most likely a minor war chief in Le

Porc Epic's band (White 1991:216). His disaffiliation with Le Porc Epic, who remained loyal to the French, put him in direct opposition to Piedfroid, who also remained devoted to the French after the disaster in 1747. The following year, in an act of defiance to both the Miami at Kekionga and the French, La Demoiselle left Kekionga to establish a new Miami village, Pickawillany, in the Ohio Country (Figure 7). Arriving at the burned out Fort Miamis in summer 1749, the new commandant, Charles de Raymond aptly captured the factionalization of the Miami at the time:

> Le Pied Froid is the great chief of the Miami. This nation is divided into several bands, the first being that of Le Pied Froid. The second is that of La Demoisell, which remains at Great Miami River with the English. This is the band which pillaged the French at the Miamis fort, made them prisoners, and set fire to the fort after the pillage.
>
> The third band remains at Tippecanoe, fifteen to twenty leagues [35 to 50 miles] from here. It has for chief the person named Le Gris, a young man who does not govern his band himself, not yet having had any experience; it is guided by one or two chiefs...
>
> In the neighborhood of the Potawatomi at the St. Joseph River there are five or six cabins of Miami who have separated from the band of Le Gris and who for some years have lived in those parts [in Berthrong 1974:140].

Raymond's reference to La Demoiselle's being "with the English" reflects the level of La Demoiselle's defection by 1749. What had started as a result of internal strife within Miami society quickly became entangled in the larger imperial struggles which were festering in the Ohio country. Piedfroid was allied to the French; accordingly, La Demoiselle sought succor among the British. His representatives met with traders from Pennsylvania at Logstown on the upper Ohio and then journeyed to Lancaster, Pennsylvania where they signed a treaty and were "admitted into the Friendship and Alliance of the King of Great Britain" (in Berthrong 1974:139).

French officials felt compelled to act against both the British and the rebel Miami. Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville was chosen to lead an expedition into the Ohio country designed to impress the native inhabitants, chase off any British traders living in the region and, most importantly, to convince or coerce the rebel Miami at La Demoiselle's town of Pickawillany to return to Kekionga and the French alliance. Pomp and ceremony were to be a major part of the expedition. At various points along the expedition route Céloron stopped to bury inscribed lead plates which claimed the Ohio country for New France (Barnhart and Riker 1971:102).

On the 13th of September, 1749 Céloron arrived at La Demoiselle's village. He sent away two British soldiers he found living at Pickawillany and was pleased to see that the other British traders who had settled among La Demoiselle's band "had already departed overland with their effects" (Lambing 1920:372). Hampered by the lack of an interpreter, who was supposed to be in route from Kekionga, Céloron "determined to speak to the Demoiselle by means of an Iroquois who knew Miami well" (Lambing 1920:372). In council, Céloron presented gifts to the rebel Miami and then read a statement prepared by Galissonière. He admondished the Miami but layed the blame for the recent troubles on the British who, he said were "the ringleaders of every evil work" and who "may no longer approach this land, which belongs to me...I break off all trade with the English whom I have notified to retire from off my territories; and if they come back there again they will have reason to be sorry for it" (Lambing 1920:274). The Miami were to also vacate the Ohio country:

> I extinguish by these two belts of wampum the two fires which you lighted during the last two years...I extinguish them in such a way that not a single spark can escape...By these belts I lift you from your mats and I lead you by the hand in order to bring you to Quiskakon (Kekionga), where I light your fire and make it more enduring than ever [Lambing 1920:373].

La Demoiselle, though, would not be led by the hand back to Kekionga. He told Céloron " you have made us a good road to return to our ancient home..." however, the Miami would make only vague promises to "seriously reflect" upon Céloron's words and they would return to Kekionga in the spring "if the hunting is abundant" (Lambing 1920:375). Céloron was suspect of La Demoiselle's declarations and "detained some of the old men for the purpose of finding out if what they had just said was true" (Lambing 1920:376). Céloron kept the pressure up and when the Miami interpreter from Kekionga, a man named Rois, arrived Céloron tried a final time to "induce the Demoiselle, along with some other chiefs, to come with me to light their fires and make their wigwams at Quiskakon...They kept always saying and assuring me that they would return thither next spring" (Lambing 1920:376).

Thwarted and frustrated, Céloron could do no more than take La Demoiselle at his word. He departed on the 20th and set out overland for Fort Miamis. When he arrived he met with Piedfroid and told him of La Demoiselle's recalcitrancy. Piedfroid was not surprised and told Céloron that he did not believe La Demoiselle would return in the spring, "I hope I am deceived, but I am sufficiently attached to the French to say that the Demoiselle is a liar" (Lambing 1920:377). Céloron could do no more. On the 27th he left Kekeionga and headed back toward Detroit.

Piedfroid was right and by the next year Pickawillany was attracting disaffected warriors and their families from throughout the *pays d'en haut*. Raymond wrote in January 1750:

> From what I learned, La Demoiselle seems to be far from keeping the promise which he gave by the belts which M. de Celoron sent you to return to the Miami with his band. This savage sent speeches into all the winter quarters of the Miami of the bands of Le Pied Froid and in those of the Potawatomi of St. Joseph and of the Wea to have them go to the Great Miami. They have all promised to take their furs there. The general news is that a party of Ouiatanon is to go settle there. Le Pied Froid fears that all the savages of his band will decide to do so...[Krauskopf 1955:214].

Again, Piedfroid correctly assessed the situation, for most of his band, except for his kinsmen, did abandon Kekionga and join La Demoiselle at Pickawillany (White 1991:220). With such a gathering of warriors in one place, the rumors ran rife. One rumor asserted that the British planned to place a post at the forks of the Wabash, thereby cutting off Fort Miamis from the Wabash and the French in Canada from Louisiana (Barnhart and Riker 1971:104). In this the British believed that the Miami were the key:

> the Twightwees [the British term for the Miami], a large nation of Indians to the westward of the River Ohio, have taken up the hatchet (as they term it) against the French and the Indians in amity with them; that is they have declared war against the French and their allies, and they have solicited the friendship of the English...It's in the power of the Twightwees to stop and prevent the French having any intercourse between Mississippi and Canada. They have towns on the northwest and the southwest (Kekionga) of the Lake Erie, where the French are obliged to pass in their going from Canada to the southward [Mullett 1944:399-400].

Le Pean, a Miami who became jealous of La Demoiselle's pretentions, defected back to the French. (White 1991:220). Le Pean reported to Raymond at Fort Miamis that "the Ouiatanon have assured the English and La Demoiselle that before the summer (1750) is over they will strike the French in good fashion" (Krauskopf 1955:215). Like most rumors, though, the attack never came.

Tensions continued to run high in the Ohio country and French officials feared a "revolution" among the nations of the *pays d'en haut* as La Demoiselle's belts began to circulate through the Illinois country and the upper Mississippi (White 1991:221). While French officials debated on the best course of action to break up the rebel villages in the Ohio country, outside forces were beginning to intervene and shape the course of events for the French. As had happened so many times in the past, these large,

essentially refugee villages strained under the population pressures brought about by the concentration of peoples who's subsistance practices were wholly unsuited for such arrangements. As crops failed and game became increasingly more scarce, inter-tribal rivalries flaired and several more chiefs sought rapproachment with the French (White 1991:230). As overcrowded and unhealthy conditions arose the ugly spector of epidemic disease crept upon the scene. A smallpox epidemic during the winter of 1751-1752 spread among the Miami and again Kekionga, where the population had dwindled to between fourty-five and sixty persons (Berthrong 1974:141), has hard hit. The new commandant at Fort Miamis, Louis Coulon de Villiers, reported to his superiors that smallpox had "put the whole of them to the route. The Coldfoot and his son have died of it, as well as a large portion of our most trusty Indians" (WHC 18:108).

As La Demoiselle's rebellion unraveled, a *métis* named Charles Langlade organized a war party at Michilimackinac consisting primarily of Ottawa and Chippewa warriors. At Detroit he petitioned French officials for permission to attack Pickawillany. With official sanction, he proceed to Pickawillany and caught the rebels off guard. Most of the warriors were away from the village and Langlade's warriors captured many of the women in the cornfields surrounding the stockaded village. The only resistence came from about twenty men and boys--warriors and traders--barracaded within the stockade (Barnhart and Riker 1971:113). Realizing their situation, the beseiged rebels agreed to give up the British traders in exchange for the women the attackers already held as captives. Breaking their word that they would not harm the traders, the Ottawa and Chippewa warriors fell upon an already wounded trader, killed him, ripped out his heart and ate it (White 1991:231). La Demoiselle, who happened to be in the village, succumbed to a worse fate. In the time honored tradition of the Algonqian groups of the *pays d'en haut*, the Ottawa and Chippewa figuratively and then literally devoured their enemy by boiling and then eating La Demoiselle (Barnhart and Riker 1971:113).

Langlade struck the French colors and then escorted most of the rebel Miami back to Kekionga (Berthrong 1974:143). Though not a unilateral victory for the French, the new Governor-General of New France, Michel-Ange de Menneville, the Marquis de Duquesne, was hopeful; "I trust that this blow, added to the complete pillage suffered by the English on this occaision, will discourage them from trading on our lands" (WHC 18:129). At Ouiatanon, the commandant, François-Marie le Marchard de Ligneris, remained skeptical about the import of Langlade's raid, but nevertheless admitted that upon hearing of it, the English traders among the Piankashaw deemed their situation unsafe and withdrew (Barnhart and Riker 1971:114).

Once again the British showed their propensity for abandoning their Indian allies whenever they felt that it was in their own self interest. Following the attack on Pickawillany, the rebels that remained, including warriors from the Miami, Mingo and Shawnee, sent out a string of black wampum and a scalp, asking for assistance from "the captains and warriors of all nations in alliance with them" (in White 1991:233). They called upon "the English and the six Nations to put their hands upon your heads and keep the French from hurting you" (in White 1991:234). Assistance was not forthcoming, and with both of the rival chiefs, Piedfroid and La Demoiselle, dead, the Miami sought to return to their French "father"--a term which exemplified the Algonquian worldview in which alliances were defined in symbolic kinship terms, which in turn determined the appropriate behaviors of each party (see White 1991). In July 1753, the rebel Miami traveled to Montreal to ask Onontio, the Algonquian name for the Governor-General of New France, for forgiveness.

The destruction of Pickawillany and the return of many of the rebel Algonquians to the French fold, however, did not settle the larger question of hegemony in the Ohio country. Céloron's lead plates aside, the Ohio Indians--primarily the Delaware and Shawnee--and the British still regarded the Ohio country as their own. The French continued to counter British claims and to coax the Shawnee and Delaware into the French alliance. French expeditions in 1753 and again in 1754 established French military posts as far west as the Allegany River in present day Pennsylvania. This region had become the hot spot for the growing international crisis. The attack of George Washington on a small party of French and his subsequent defeat at Fort Necessity in 1754 were the start of the imperial struggle known in North America as the French and Indian War. The early success of the French against the British convinced most of the Ohio Indians to join in the French alliance, though they remained skeptical of French intentions in the Ohio country and fought more out of personal and tribal animosities toward the British than out of loyalty to the French (see White 1991:240-248). The more traditional allies of the *pays d'en haut*, including the Miami, also fought along side the French.

In 1756 the new commandant at Fort Miamis, Marie-François Picoté, Sieur de Belestre, led a party of 150 Miami and Wea warriors and a few Shawnee guides deep into British territory (Krauskopf 1955:220). On the James River in Virginia

> "they fell upon a village of from thirty to forty houses, which they took and burned. To them was joined a little fort which was called upon to surrender; refusing to do so, it was carried by assault and the garrison put to the sword. As many were killed as taken prisoner, about three hundred persons" [Krauskopf 1955:220].

The warriors then pillaged the town, killing all of the cattle, stealing 120 horses, which they used to transport their "considerable booty" and burned any structures that remained standing (Krauskopf 1955:220). Belestre was wounded in the arm and shoulder during the action, he reported that only five men were killed and five or six others wounded (Krauskopf 1955:220). The English commander of the company of Rangers held up in the blockhouse, Major John Smith, put a slightly different spin on the attack:

> after having maintained his Post from nine in the morning, till five in the afternoon, during which time the Enemy had forty of their killed, and Your Memorialist [Smith] having but three men then left, fit for Duty, he was obliged, to accept of a Capitulation offered by the Enemy, in Consequence whereof, the Enemy were admitted into the Blockhouse, where finding so few men, for its defence, they broke the Capitulation, barbarously murdered your Memorialists Son, Himself, and the rest of his party, they tyd in a most cruel manner, carried them off, Prisoners contrary to the Express Articles of Capitulation...[Mullett 1944:406].

Smith's resistance at the blockhouse, he claimed, deterred the French from their true target, Warwick, located just 60 miles from Williamsburg (Mullett 1944:407).

Belestre returned to Fort Miamis with Smith and the other captives. Upon his release, Smith relayed to British officials what he had seen of the military installations and estimated Indian warrior counts in the *pays d'en haut*. At Fort Miamis he reported only 16 regulars and no artillery (Mullett 1944:408). About the Miami he had this to say; "about 1400 formerly our friends, they suffered greatly on our account, but are still desirous to be with us against the French, if it is safe for them to do so" (Mullett 1944:409). Smith may have spoken to or been contacted by a few of the Miami who still harbored resentment for the French, but this attitude does not appear to have been widespread among the Miami at Kekionga. They participated in at least two other engagements with the British between 1756 and 1757 (Berthrong 1974:144).

After these early successes, though, French fortunes began to wane and with them the allied tribes' faith in the French to withstand the British. Nonetheless, when Onontio called on the tribesmen for one final, desperate attempt to hold New France in 1760, Wea and Miami warriors responded. "About 1,500 (warriors) went to Montreal during the summer, including one hundred under the Wea commandant and perhaps six or seven hundred under the Miami commandant" (Barnhart and Riker 1971:125). One of the last official reports on the French posts in the *pays d'en haut*, written in 1757 described the French and Miami settlements at the headwaters of the Maumee on the eve of the French defeat:

> *Post of the Miamis.*--The post of the Miamis (Bellestre lieutenant) situated on the right bank of the river of that name with a fort of upright pickets, is the fort which stands at the beginning of the portage to the waters that flow to the southwest [the Wabash]...the savages who most commonly come to trade there are the Miamis and the Tepicomeaux [Miamis from the village of Tepicon]. They can furnish a hundred and fifty warriors [WHC 18:175].

France capitulated at Montreal on September 8, 1760, relinquishing all of Canada--including most of the *pays d'en haut*--to Great Britain (Barnhart and Riker 1971:126).

Period III (1760-1795)

The withdrawal of the French from the *pays d'en haut* left the Algonquians in a state of apprehension about their future under British rule. The British had gone back on their word to evacuate the Ohio valley after the defeat of the French and in the fall of 1760 they broke their promise not to garrison the western posts (White 1991:260). Commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, Sir Jeffery Amherst, dispatched Major Robert Rogers and two companies of rangers to receive the surrender of the western posts. He arrived at Detroit on November 29, 1760 and received the surrender of the post from Belestre, who commanded there. Though they remained cordial, the Indians living around Detroit asserted to Rogers that "this country was given by God to the Indians" and privately told Belestre that the British had betrayed them (in White 1991:260). Captain Donald Campbell and a company of Royal Americans were to remain in Detroit.

From Detroit, Lieutenant John Butler was sent "to take over the Garrisons of Miamis and Ouiatanon" and "to Maintain the Post of Miamis if it be possible with a few Men during the winter" (in Jones 1988:197). Campbell and the British were keenly aware of the strategic importance of the Maumee-Wabash waterway. For, he noted, "from there is a great carrying place of nine miles into the waters of the Ouabache and it would prevent a surprize in the Spring" (in Barnhart and Riker 1971:133). Butler and an Ensign Wait, along with twenty men and an Indian interpreter arrived at Fort Miamis in December with "a good Quantity of Ammunition and some Indian Goods" (in Barnhart and Riker 1971:133; WHC 18:226). The Miami were still reeling from the celerity of the French collapse and this coupled with the absence of the warriors for much of the fall and winter hunting season left them destitute and reliant on Butler for provisions in the spring (Jones 1988:197).

By the fall of 1761 the tables had turned somewhat and Campbell found it necessary to purchase corn from the Miami at Kekionga in order to provision the garrison there as well as the twenty men under the command of Lieutenant Edward Jenkins sent to garrison the post at Ouiatanon in November (Jones 1988:198). As the Miami and the rest of the Algonquians began to come to terms with their situation, they found that a return to "normalcy" was not to be. Tensions between the two sides quickly mounted as the Algonquians expected a return to the middle ground--a balance of trade, social and military obligations--while Amherst set out to implement his policy of treating the Indians as subjects, and conquered subjects at that, of the King of Great Britain.

> At the center of Amherst's policy was a determination to eliminate the presents that served as a token of the entire middle ground. Amherst believed that presents were emblematic of the problems with existing relationships with the Indians. Presents cultivated the natural lassitude of savagery. If Indians got provisions by asking for them, they would 'grow remiss in their hunting.' Amherst had no objection to Indians receiving charity in cases of dire necessity, but regular presents would have to cease. Indians would have to support themselves by hunting. Amherst was prepared to pay for services rendered, but 'purchasing the good behavior, either of Indians or any others is what I do not understand; when men of what race soever behave ill, they must be punished but not bribed' [White 1991:257-258].

Amherst's policy reached Kekionga in September, 1761. That summer Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, and his deputy, George Croghan had been sent to Detroit along with 360 soldiers under the command of Major Henry Gladwin. Johnson and Croghan were to council with the western tribes while Gladwin and his men were to complete the occupation of the

western posts and to relieve the Rangers garrisoned at Fort Miamis (Barnhart and Riker 1971:135). Though Ensign Robert Holmes was assigned to take command at Fort Miamis, illness delayed his departure and an unidentified officer was sent in his place. The officer soon found how difficult it would be to implement a policy conceived of far from the *pays d'en haut* where, counter to the belief of the British government, the Algonquians still held the upper hand. Upon his arrival at Fort Miamis, the Miami gathered around "expecting great Presents" [Sir William Johnson Papers (WJP) 10:325]. He told them that he had brought no presents and that they should have attended the council at Detroit, where gifts and provisions had been given out. Sensing their agitation, the officer "made bold to do without any Orders" and presented the Miami with shirts, blankets, leggings, strouds, bar lead, wampum, gun powder, vermillion, tobacco, rum, gunflints and knives (WJP 10:326). The Englishman demanded that the Miami return to him all English prisoners still held by the tribe. The chiefs retired to deliberate and returned later in the afternoon with their answer:

> the Chiefs returnd & gave me 3 Strings of Wampum one of which they informd me was to Open my Ears & to clear my heart of any ill impressions I might still Harbour of them...they found that the English had some pity for them & that they took the Present very kindly, but would be very glad if I would give Cag of Power as what I had given them would not be a Handful a man & likewise a little more Rum which I did as they begd very earnestly for it...[WJP 10:327].

As for the prisoners, the chiefs balked saying that they "were in Place of others which we (the English) had kill'd" (WJP 10:327).

Three days later an Ottawa chief and 15 warriors arrived at the fort and they too expected the customary exchange of gifts, Upon presenting the English officer with a string of wampum they "desird I would take their Case into Consideration & give them a little Powder & Ball & well as the Miamis or else that I would give them Credit on the Merchant for some & that they would pay for it faithfully in Spring" (WJP 10:327). Again, the Englishman refused telling them that their chiefs had been at Detroit where goods had been distributed. Lieutenant Butler, who had by that time acquired some working knowledge of the middle ground, intervened and informed the officer that these Ottawa "had brought a great deal of Venison for the use of the Garrison all Winter & had behavd remarkably well..." (WJP 10:328). The officer gave them gunpowder, bar lead, blankets, vermillion and a gallon of rum. At this point he seems to have completely abandoned Amherst's policy. The next day he gave a blanket, a shirt and a bottle of rum to the "Old King" (a Miami chief?) who told the officer that he "was afraid he should be Starv'd with Cold if I had not Compassion on him" (WJP 10:328). Over the next few days, the officer also doled out gifts to a group of visiting Shawnee and used goods to purchase the freedom of a captured English woman.

The final day of the council was marred by violence. In the tradition of the middle ground constructed by the French and Indians but vehemently rejected by Amherst, the situation was smoothed out by the exchange of goods. For reasons that remain unknown, an English soldier threw his bayonet at and killed the horse of an Ottawa warrior. The incensed warrior threatened to "kill every horse & Cow belonging to the fort if I did not give them another Horse immediately" (WJP 10:329). In the end, the officer gave the usual variety of goods--including rum--to the warriors and promised to send a horse as soon as he could obtain one (WJP 10:329).

All over the *pays d'en haut* such clumsy attempts to abandon the established traditions of the middle ground led quickly to widespread unrest among the Algonquians. Both Johnson and Croghan, who between them had considerable experience in dealing with the Indians, were wary of so swiftly cutting off presents to the Algonquians. In April, 1762 Croghan sent Thomas Hutchins on a tour of Detroit and the western posts. Though he towed the party line and instructed Hutchins to "Make use of all the Oconemy which ye good of ye Service will in any wise admitt..." (in Barnhart and Riker 1971:139), he earlier wrote to Colonel Henry Bouquet "The British and French Colonies since the first Settling [of] America...have adopted the Indian Customs and manners by indulging them in Treaties and renewing friendships making them large Presents which I fear won't be so easey to break them of as the General (Amherst) may imagine" (in White 1991:258).

Hutchins' tour of the *pays d'en haut* only succeeded in further confirming the Algonquians suspicions and to sow the seeds of discontent. At Michilimackinac in June the Ottawa an Chippewa continued to espouse their friendship with the English during council meetings but Hutchins was informed by his interpreter that " they expected a present from me and seemed much dissatisfy'd that they were disappointed..." (WJP 10:524). As the council progressed this scene was played out over and over again:

> I was inform'd by my Interpreter that the Cheapwas expected a present from me and were much dissatisfy'd...
>
> I was informed by my Interpreter that the Sax, Reynard, & Meynomeney [Menomenee] Nations all expected a Present from me and were a good deal displeased at their being disappointed...[WJP 10:524-525].

Continuing his tour, Hutchins' recieved the same reception among the Potawatomi on the St. Josephs River who "expressed uneasiness that Rum was not allowed them as usual..." and at Ouiatanon where the Wea, in the midst of another epidemic, complained not of the illness among them "but what we think hardest of, is that the English have never so much as given us the least Present..." (WJP 10:526-527). At Kekionga the Miami were also afflicted with an unidentified illness and requested that Croghan "send them a Smith to mend their Guns and Tomahawks and also allow them some Presents as their People were mostly sick and could not hunt to support their families" (WJP 10:528). Ensign Holmes, who had finally arrived at Fort Miamis, told Hutchins that it was impossible to deal with the Indians without the use of gifts. Hutchins, after 6 months in the *pays d'en haut*, concurred with Holmes. He told Croghan "I always found in Private Conversation that they were not so well satisfy'd as I could have wish'd as they were disappointed in their Expectations of my not having Presents for them..." (WJP 10:529).

Dissatisfaction turned quickly to resentment as Amherst's restrictions on powder and lead began to affect the tribesmens' ablility to hunt or make war on their enemies. Always a rife rumor mill, paranoia began to spread across the *pays d'en haut* as the Algonquians tried to rationalize the behavior of the British. Displaying rare insight into the Algonquian worldview, Croghan summed up the situation in the *pays d'en haut* in a letter to Bouquet dated December 10, 1762:

> Since you Left this I have had an opportunity of Speaking with Several principal Warriors of the Senecas, Delawares & Shawnese, all which made no Scruple of Confessing the *Belt* mentioned in Mr. McKee's [Alexander McKee, Croghan's agent] Intelligence, and Say that it's the Belt Given to the Wawaughtonnes [Wea] last Spring by the French Officer at the Ilinois. They say, they never Intended to make War on the English, but Say it's full time for them to prepare to Defend themselves & their Country from Us, who they are Convinced Design to make War on them; They Say, if We did not Intend that We would not Prohibit the Sale of as much Powder & Lead as would Supply them to Hunt with, nor Refuse their Warriors Powder & Lead, & other Necessarys to Carry on the War against the Southern Indians, their Natural Enemys...They seem persuaded that as soon as We get our Prisoners from them, that We will make War on them, which is Natural Enough, as they are a People who never Forget, nor Forgive, they think We will Act on the same Principles...
>
> ...The Indians are a very Jealous People, Rash & Inconsiderate, & never Consider Consequences, tho' it must End in their Ruin; Their Expectations were great from Us, & their Poverty & Mercenary Disposition will not Suffer them to Bear a Dissappointment of that kind. They Interpret the General's Frugality in Lessening the Expence of Presents in a Design of Revenging what has past...How it may End, the Lord Knows; but I Assure you I am of the Opinion it will not be long before We shall have some Broyles with them...[WJP 10:597-598].

Croghan's fear that the nations of the *pays d'en haut* would unite against the British proved to be prophetic and in 1763, under the leadership of an Ottawa war chief named Pontiac the tribes struck. At Kekionga the Miami vacillated. In March, the Miami chiefs called Ensign Holmes to a council and turned over to him a belt they were to have sent on to Ouiatanon at which point they were "to Rise, and put the English to Death, all about this Place...(WJP 4:97). One month later a second war belt arrived at Kekionga and this time it prompted the Miami to action. On the morning of March 27 a Miami girl who was apparently Ensign Holmes' concubine entered the Fort and asked Holmes to attend to another Miami woman lying sick in a "Cabbin about three hundred yards from the Fort..." (WJP 10:731). Shortly after he left the fort, the men of the garrison heard two shots ring out and a "Serjeant went out to see what was the matter, and upon his coming up to two or three Indians that was in sight of the Fort, they took him prisoner having killed Mr. Holmes before..." (WJP 10:731). The remaining nine men of the garrison quickly acquiesced to the surrender terms offered them; the Miami post had fallen.

One after the other the western posts met similar fates. By June 21 all of the British posts west of Fort Niagra were in Indian hands except Detroit and it was under siege by Pontiac and his followers (Barnhart and Riker 1971:142-143). Again though the Indian successes, like those of the French, were short-lived. Detroit held out and though not devestating, the rebellious Indians had been defeated near Fort Pitt at the Battle of Bushy Run (Barnhart and Riker 1971:144; White 1991:289). In late October Pontiac recieved word that he could not expect French assistance and the siege was over.

Most historians from Parkman on down have assumed Pontiac's rebellion to have been an unmitigated failure. White, though, views the end of the rebellion as both a military and ideological stalemate (1991:289-299). Neither side had established superiority over the other and, much as the French and Algonquians a century and more earlier had done, the Algonquians and the British struggled to reach accommadation with one another. Much of the military and political intrigue accompanying this process took place along the Maumee-Wabash waterway.

Pontiac established a village on the Maumee River upon leaving Detroit and continued to advocate resistence. In the spring (1764) he traveled to Fort de Chartres on the Mississippi looking for support from the French and the Illinois tribes. Only parially successful--the French continued to remain aloof--Pontiac returned to the Maumee (Peckham 1947:246-252). Though Pontiac was somewhat diminished, his continued agitations, along with renewed efforts by the Shawnee and Delaware, kept the war belts flying through the *pays d'en haut*. In a show of force the British launched two expeditions that summer. Colonel Bouquet was to proceed to the Ohio country while Colonel John Bradstreet moved along Lake Erie to Detroit. Bouquet was detained at Fort Pitt until October, but Bradstreet was on the march by August. Free to either attack or negociate with the Indians he encountered, Bradstreet, lacking confidence in his force, chose the former. After concluding an ill advised treaty with some Shawnee, Mingo, Delaware and Wyandot near Presque Isle, Bradstreet continued toward Detroit. Perhaps flushed with his recent success in negociating peace, he dispatched Captain Thomas Morris with a small French and Indian escort to Illinois country--which had been ceded to Great Britain at the Treaty of Paris the year before--to arrange for the capitulation of the French posts there and to deter the Indians from attacking any British troops that moved into the area. Morris never even reached the Wabash.

Proceeding down the Maumee, Morris arrived at Attawang's village just above Roche de Bout. Attawang, an Ottawa who had sought accomodation with the British following the siege at Detroit, was one of Morris' Indian guides. His village was a few miles down river from Pontiac's. It was here that Morris discovered that Bradstreet's seeming success in the Ohio country did not hold true in the Maumee-Wabash country, where resentment for the British still ran high and Pontiac's influence was still strong. Arrogantly riding at the head of the little party into Attawang's village, Morris found himself surrounded not by submissive savages, but rather by "Pondiac's army, con*fi*ing of *fi*x hundred *fa*vages, with tommahawks in their hands, who beat my hor*fe*, and endeavored to separate me from my Indians...By their malicious *fm*iles, it was ea*fy* for me to gue*fs* their intention of putting me to death" (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):304). After being harangued by Pontiac about the eminent return of Onontio and the resulting explusion of the British, Morris was "rescued" by Attawang, retiring to his cabin for the night. The next day a council was held. Morris soon learned that the Miami remained hostile. He told the council that the Illinois country had been ceded to the English, "the great Miamis chief *fta*rted up and *fp*oke very loud, in his *fi*ngular language, and laughed. Godfroi (a Frenchman and interpreter traveling with Morris) whi*fp*ered to me, that it was very

lucky that he received my intelligence with contempt and not anger, and deſired me to ſay no more..." (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):306).

Morris was somewhat taken with the Miami and offered this description of the tribe:

> I have called the Miamis tongue a ſingular language; becauſe it has no affinity with any other Indian language which I have heard. It is much wondered whence this nation came; who differ as much from all other nations in their ſuperſtitious practices, as in their ſpeech, and manner of encamping. As they left the Uttawaw [Ottawa] villages before me on their way home, we traced their encampments, where we ſaw their offerings of tobacco, made by every individual each morning, ranged in the niceſt order, on long ſlips of bark both on the ſhore, and on rocks in the river. They carry their God in a bag [medicine bundle], which is hung in the front of their encampment, and is viſited by none but the prieſt; if any other perſon preſumes to advance between the front of the encampment and that ſpirit in the bag, he is put to death: and I was told that a drunken French ſoldier, who had done ſo, was with great difficulty ſaved [Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):306].

The Miami were clearly still a very spiritual people and over one hundred years of contact with Europeans had done little to erode their belief system. The offerings witnessed by Morris were left by the Miami to their various manitous, likely to assure a safe journey back to their villages. Nearly one hundred years earlier, Father Allouez--who the Miami mistook as a manitou-- had been the recipient of just such offerings.

After escaping death once more at Attawang's village by disguising himself as an Indian and fleeing into a corn field, Morris decided to push on having gained Pontiac's consent (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):307-309). Moving up river, he passed Pontiac's village on a large island and encountered a number of Indians of various groups coming and going on the Maumee, including a Shawnee and Delaware embassary en route to Pontiac who refused to stop and talk (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):310-311). At Kekionga Morris' welcome was once again less than warm; "arrived at the meadow near the Miamis fort, pretty early in the day. We were met at the bottom of the meadow by almoſt the whole village who had brought ſpears and tommahawks, in order to deſpatch me; even the little children had bows and arrows to ſhoot at the Engliſhman..." (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):312). Remaining in his canoe, Morris pushed off to the opposite bank while his escorts negociated with the Miami. On the opposite bank Morris was surprised to discover an Englishman chopping wood. He was the only member of Ensign Holmes' garrison left alive following the attack on Fort Miamis, the others having meet their end at the burning stake. He had been adopted by an old Miami woman who had lost her son in battle (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):312).

Upon coming ashore, Morris was sequestered in the fort with some French traders while the Miami and his Indian escort crossed the river to Kekionga for a council. A party of Shawnee and Delaware had just departed from Kekionga. They had passed out war belts urging the Miami to again strike the British. From Kekionga some of these warriors had continued on to Ouiatanon with the same message (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):313). Before long two warriors came into the fort, seized Morris and escorted him across the river to Kekionga. There he was stripped and bound while the still fractious Miami debated his fate. Le Cynge, a war chief of Piedfroid's band, unbound his hands and gave him a pipe to smoke, but his reprieve was short-lived. A Miami named Visenlair then grabbed Morris and tied him by the neck to a post. Morris prepared for the torture he was sure was coming. Just then "Pacanne, king of the Miamis nation, and juſt out of his minority..." rode up to Morris and, untying him, said to the crowd "If you want meat go to Detroit, or upon the lake and you'll find enough. What buſineſs have you with this man's fleſh, who is come to ſpeak to us?" (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):316).

Morris spent two more harrowing days at the old fort before the Miami granted him permission to leave. They did, however, forbid his going to the Wabash and he was forced to turn back to Detroit. Pacane (the Nut), the young Miami chief who granted Morris his life, was just beginning to rise to prominence in Miami society. He would play an increasingly important role in Miami affairs over the next five decades.

Still seeking to pacify the Wabash and Illinois country, Croghan started down the Ohio River, on his way to Fort de Chartres, in May 1765. Like Morris though, his journey was cut short by hostile Indians. At the mouth of the Wabash, Croghan and party were ambushed by Kickapoo and Mascouten warriors. Several were killed and Croghan, injured, was taken captive. The Kickapoo and Mascouten took Croghan to their village at Ouiatanon (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):138-144). At Ouiatanon Croghan held several councils with the Wea, Mascouten, Kickapoo and Piankashaw, his capture turning into diplomatic coup for the British. On July 13 a deputation of chiefs from Kekionga came to Ouiatanon. Meeting in council with Croghan, the Miami chiefs "renewed their Antient Freiendship with His Majesty & all his Subjects in America & confirmed it with a Pipe" (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):147). Pontiac and Croghan met in council shortly thereafter, reaching a preliminary agreement with both Pontiac and the Illinois. Though he had neither the power he believed himself nor the power bestowed upon him by the British, the peace concluded with Pontiac helped to restore a British-Algonquian version of the middle ground; where trade, alliance and diplomacy were bound up in an intrically intertwined set of reciprocative obligations (see White 1991:299-314).

With assurances of a cease-fire and plans for future councils, Croghan left Ouiatanon, passing through Kekionga on his way to Detroit. Croghan reached the forks of the Wabash on August 1 and left one of the first British accounts of the long portage:

> We arrived at the carrying place between the River Miames [Maumee] and the Ouabache, which is about nine miles long in dry seasons, but not above half that length in freshes...The navigation from hence to Ouicatanon, is very difficult in low water, on account of many rapids and rifts; but in freshes, which generally happen in the spring and fall, batteaux or canoes will pass, without difficulty...[Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):149].

Though he obviously found no village at the forks, a few days earlier Croghan noted that a "small village of the Twightwee" was located on the Eel River (Figure 10), six miles upstream from its confluence with the Wabash (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):149). More indication that internal village disputes among the Miami were often settled by the physical separation of one of the warring parties from the main body of the tribe. The Eel River Indians would become a historically recognized sub-group of the Miami.

Croghan's arrival at Kekionga was somewhat more congenial than the reception Morris had received just one year before. Meeting his party at the river, the Miami escorted him to the village where they hoisted an English flag which Croghan had given to a Miami delegation at Fort Pitt. Kekionga, Croghan said, was situated on both sides of the St. Joseph River, about a quarter of a mile from where it joins the Maumee. The village "consists of about forty or fifty cabins, besides nine or ten French houses" (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):150). From this description, Berthrong estimates the Miami population at Kekionga to have been between 640 and 800 (1974:148). Croghan remained wary of the French influence over the Miami, calling them "a lazy, indolent people, fond of breeding mischief, and spiriting up the Indians against the English..." (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):150).

The Miami held a council and, upon returning to Croghan, they declared their peaceful intentions. As a show of good faith the Miami returned all of the English captives they still held and made several speeches expressing the "great pleasure it gave them, to see the unhappy differences which embroiled the several nations in a war with their brethern, the English..." (Thwaites 1904-1907 (1):150). From Kekionga Croghan proceeded to Detroit where several more councils were held and peace agreements formalized.

Resolute to the fact the British were now their Father, the Algonquians tried to settled once more into old routines. When Edward Cole, on his way to Fort de Chartres, stopped at Kekionga the Miami "Seem'd much pleased with the new regulations and hoped everthing would go wright" (in Barnhart and Riker 1971:159). The British-Algonquian relationship, though, remained tenuous at best in the years preceeding the outbreak of the American Revolution. Violence or the threat of violence was a constant theme of the British records of the time. At the crux of the problem was the difference in the fur trade under British rule. The Miami complained that they had to travel to Detroit for even the smallest items and that British traders were not allowed travel to their villages (Barnhart and Riker 1971:160). The Wabash nations--the Wea, Kickapoo, Mascoutin and Piankashaw--told Alexander Maisonville, a Frenchman who

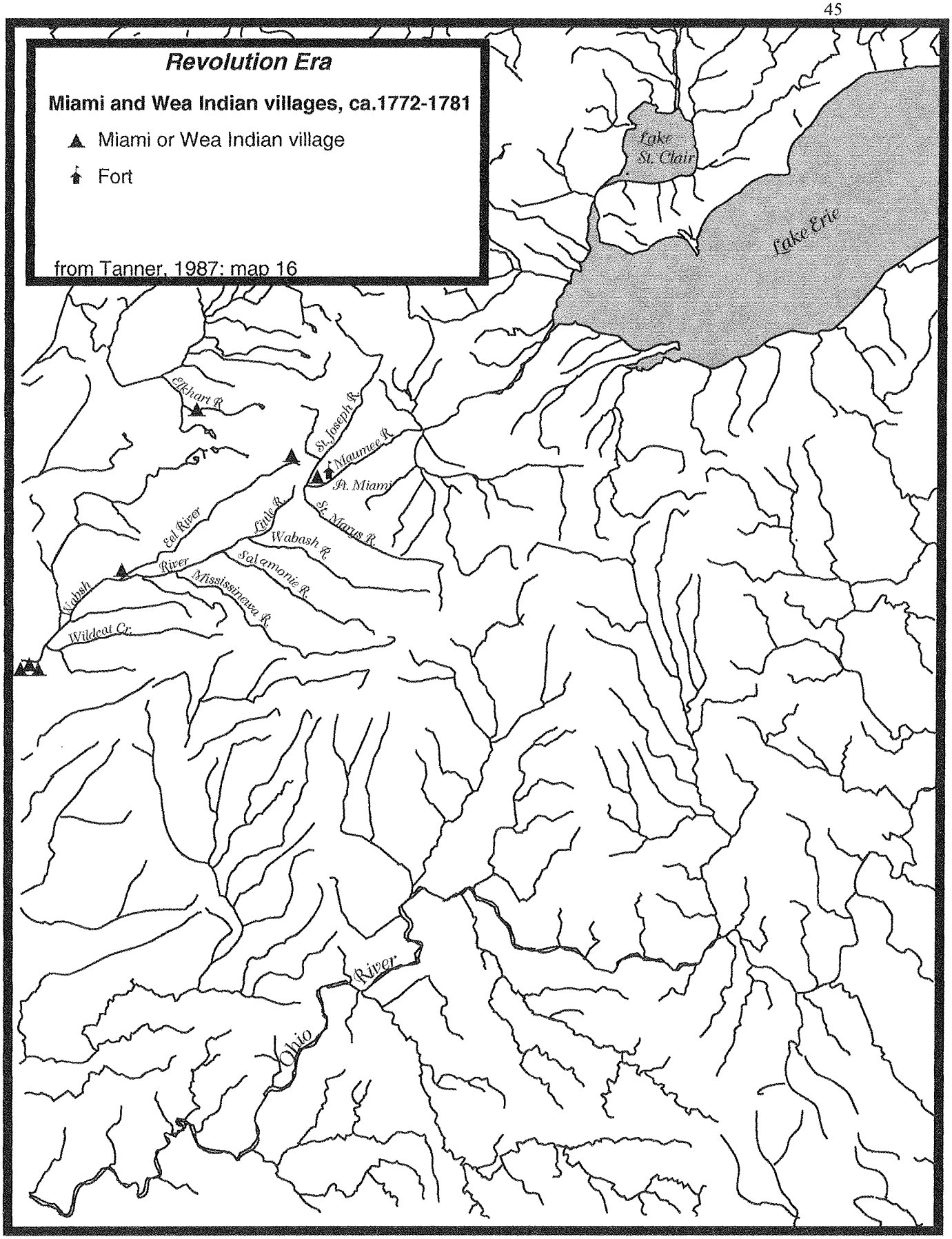


Figure 10. Miami and Wea Indian Villages, ca. 1772-1781.

lived on the Wabash, "That if the English did not fix Places of Trade, and open a Trade with them, as they promised and had given to the Nations around them--altho' it was contrary to their relationship, if forced they would Plunder both the English and the French, as they must live and have Cloathes" (in Jones 1988:224). Johnson did finally come around to believing that posts should maintained at both Ouiatanon and Fort Miamis. Lack of support from British government officials, who were under strict orders to cut back expenses, meant that neither place was garrisoned. Isolated instances of violence and the ever present rumors of conspiracy and attack kept tensions running high in the *pays d'en haut* over the course of the next several years.

Meanwhile, events on the east coast were conspiring to bring about the first real test of the British-Algonquian alliance. As Great Britain and her rebellious North American colonies moved toward war, British embassaries were sent with increasing frequency into the *pays d'en haut* to report on the location, numbers and disposition of the Indians. In 1771 Maisonville was back on the Wabash scouting for the British. He reported that the Miami were in their villages on the upper Maumee. He estimated that only one hundred warriors resided at Kekionga (WJP 12:931). Farther down the Wabash, Maisonville estimated that the Wea and Kickapoo at Ouiatanon could muster about 600 warriors, he made no mention of the Eel River Miami (WJP 12:931) Three years later, Jehu Hay, a Detroit merchant, filed a report concerning the routes from Detroit to the Illinois country, by "way of the Forts Miamie, Ouiattanon and St. Vincent with some remarks" (Dunn 1894:435; Jones 1988:233). At Fort Miamis, he notes that the "Miami Nation live opposite the Fort and consist of about 50 Men able to bear arms--The Fort is inhabited by Eight or Ten French Families" (Dunn 1894:435). Hay goes on to describe the lengths of the various stages of the portage between the Maumee and the Wabash rivers. From the headwaters of the Maumee it is an over land portage of nine miles to the Little River. Hays calculated that it was another 36 miles before reaching the Wabash (Dunn 1894:436). Of particular note is Hay's description of the unique use of beaver dams along the portage route to expedite the crossing during periods of low water:

> N. B. Between the Miamie & the Ouabache there are Beaver Dams which when water is low Passengers break down to raise it, & by that means pass easier than they otherwise would, when they are gone the Beaver come and mend the Breach, for this reason they have been hitherto sacred as neither Indians or White people hunt them [Dunn 1894:436].

Continuing down the Wabash, Hay found Fort Ouiatanon "on the right about 70 yards from the River" (Dunn 1894:436). The Wea, he said, lived on the opposite bank while the Kickapoo lived in villages around the fort. The combined warrior strength of the two groups was estimated to be 1000 men (Dunn 1894:436). The Piankashaw were at this time living sixty miles down river at the Vermillion. Hay estimated that this village contained 150 warriors (Dunn 1894:437).

The intelligence gathered by Maisonville, Hay and others pointed out the precarious nature of the British hold on the *pays d'en haut* and the unsettled dispositions of the Indian nations who actually controlled the region. In an effort to strengthen their position among the Maumee-Wabash tribes, Colonel Henry Hamilton, who presided as lieutenant governor at Detroit, selected influential French Canadians already living there to act as British agents. (Barnhart and Riker 1971:181). In June 1777 he appointed Charles Beaubien interpreter and Louis Duplesis as blacksmith at Miamis Town, as Fort Miamis was now commonly known [Stevens 1987:373n; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections (MPHC) 9:470]. At Ouiatanon, Jean Baptiste Céloron was designated commandant and Le fevre Chapaw served as blacksmith (Stevens 1987:374n; MPHC 9:470). Vincennes was deemed important enough to warrent a lieutentant governor. British agents in the field had long been clamoring for just such a move.

Edward Abbott was sent in April, 1777 to Vincennes (Barnhart and Riker 1971:178). Abbott left Detroit not with troops to garrison the post, but rather with an odd assortment of "five & thirty Canadians, Seven Ottawa, two Chippewas, & three Peankishaw Chiefs (in Barnhart and Riker 1971:178). Abbott hoped to "perswade the Indians to keep in our interest, who are now wavering, & engage them to act offencively if your Excellency thinks proper" (in Barnhart and Riker 1971:178). Like the British ambassadors before him, Abbott's naiveté about who was in ascendancy along the Maumee-Wabash waterway would soon erode as he attempted to meet the ritual obligations of the middle ground.

Stopping at Kekionga, Abbott was met by Jean Marie Phillipe Le Gras and twenty-four other leading residents of Vincennes, who, along with thirty-six Piankashaw, Wea, Mascouten, Kickapoo, Shawnee and Delaware Indians, came to escort him to his new post. As he proceeded down the Wabash, Abbott found that presents were expected in return for permission to pass down the Wabash. The Wea told him that "their antient Father (the French) never spoke to them without a barnfull of goods" (in Barnhart and Riker 1971:179). Recognizing that he was not in a position to refuse "obliged me to esquiese in part of their exorbitant demands" (in Barnhart and Riker 1971:179). Abbott finally arrived at Vincennes on May 19, 1777.

He did not stay long. Again failure by British officials to understand the complexities of the British-Algonquian alliance, especially in regard to the importance of gift giving, forced Abbott out of what had deteriorated to a percarious exsistence. He felt it necessary to have a private guard and, finally to stockade his residence (Barnhart and Riker 1971:187). By February, 1778, he felt his situation untenable and retreated back to Detroit where he wrote a scathing letter to his superior, Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Quebec:

> I once flattered myself (as I had the honor of informing Your Excellency) of being able to remain without incurring any great expence, experience has convinced me to the contrary, which determined me to leave the place before the Indians returned from their winter Hunt, knowing they would be much exasperated my not making large presents.
>
> I hope your Excellency will approve my conduct, it was the only alternative left, under the restrictions you was pleased to lay on me; it was not possible for me to meet thousands of savages, without presents of ammunition, Liquor, & Merchandize, notwithstanding every precaution in my power...[MPCH 9:488].

Prior to his leaving Vincennes, Abbott sent Paul Des Ruisseaux to Governor Carleton in Quebec with dispatches from himself and from the British agent at Kaskaskia, Philippe François de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave. Upon reaching Quebec, Des Ruisseaux prepared a "Mémoire D'observations" relating to Carleton intelligence about the region through which he had just passed. He had this to say about Miamis Town and the portage to the Wabash:

> At Fort des Miamis, there are about 22 houses, French, occupied mainly by some merchants, workmen, and journeymen. Monsieur Barthe discharges the office of commandant there, and one named Beauben (very zealous in apperance for the service of the King) says that he handles the affairs of His Majesty there. There may be 100 Indian men native to the said country, and a much greater number of others dispersed all along the rivers bordering the said village. There are 4 leagues of portage in order to fall into a Petite Rivière in order to gain the Ouabache, which [Petite Rivière] has fifteen leagues inclusive of the portage...[Stevens 1987:372-374].

Des Ruisseaux did not commit upon the disposition of the Miami at Kekionga, but they were apparently well disposed toward the British. At an Indian council held at Detroit the year before, the Miami had been receptive to Hamilton's overture that the Indians attack impinging American settlers (Anson 1970:84). The appointment of Beaubien as British agent, who was renowned as a warrior among the Miami and the presence of a blacksmith at the post likely allieviated much of the resentment the Miami still held for the British. At Vincennes, however, Des Ruisseaux declared that the Piankashaw and other Indian groups surrounding Vincennes were well attached to the British (Stevens 1987:374-376). Echoing Abbott and others, Des Ruisseaux felt that Vincennes occupied a strategic spot in the Illinois country. It was, he felt, "a key to all the Indian nations" (Stevens 1987:376). This fact was not lost on the rebel Americans, who by 1777 had designs on the region. Des Ruisseaux had been pursued by a party of Virginia scouts as he made

his way from Kaskaskia to Vincennes and he noted that there were "50 or 60 other scouts (in the region) who go under the name of hunters" (Stevens 1987:376).

The Americans had in 1775 established three Indian departments. The Middle Department had jusidiction over the tribes of the *pays d'en haut* (Anson 1970:81). Like the British, the Americans were keenly interested in the disposition of the Indians. They looked upon the Indians less as potential allies as potential foes and hoped to convince the Indians to remain neutral in the growing conflict (Anson 1970:81). Initially they seem to have achieved some measure of success, for even the Miami refused the Tomahawk Belt sent to them by Hamilton in the fall of 1777, saying that they would "follow the example of their Grandfather the Delawares of whom they had heard by a messenger that he would not receive the Tomahawk..." (in Jones 1988:238). In the spring (1778) Beaubien tried once more to get the Miami to take up the hatchet. Being unable to "prevail on the Miamis to act with spirit", Beaubien engaged eighty Shawnee to accompany him on a raid into Kentucky (MPHC 9:435).

By the fall, Miami sentiments had shifted once more back toward the English. George Rogers Clark had that summer captured Kaskaskia and from there sent Captain Leonard Helm to take possession of Vincennes. The sudden success of the "Long Knives", as the Algonquians called the rebel Americans, alarmed the Wabash tribes. Céloron wrote that the Wabash tribes "cannot relish the invasion of the Virginians" and Beaubien was convinced that "the Savages at St. Vincennes will not take the Rebels by the hand" (MPHC 9:475). In August it was reported that "a party of 15 Miami went to war towards the Ohio" and that three weeks later "Baubin (Beaubien) himself with five Chippewas & 15 Miamis" also left, presumably to scout near Vincennes (MPHC 9:475).

Hamilton received confirmation of the capture of Vincennes in September and immediately began preparing to launch an expedition to retake the post. He wrote on September 22, 1778 to General Frederick Haldimand, who had replaced Carleton as Governor of Quebec, that "This day 15 large Pirogues capable of transporting from 1800 to 3000 lbs each" had been sent on to the portage at Miamis Town along with oxen and wheels to assist in transporting the expedition over the portage (MPHC 9:477-478). He had plans of "forming a depot at the Miamis" (MPHC 9:478). If he found that the Miami at Kekionga reacted "cooly" toward his operation, he would build the depot at the forks of the Wabash instead (MPHC 9:478).

At Detroit he fairly beemed that "Biscuit is baked, provisions packed in small barrels or bags, the Militia Companies drafted, artillery stores prepared, boats mending and all that can be thought on, put forward" (MPHC 9:477). Hamilton seems to have had a firm grasp on what to expect in endeavoring to win the support of the Miami and the Wabash tribes. Presents--for "not only the Ouabash and more Western Indians, but to encourage the Delawares, Mingoes & Shawnese"--were to be an essential part of his provisions (MPHC 9:477). He hoped to leave Detroit by the first of October.

On September 26 Beaubien arrived at Detroit with new intelligence; "This evening Mr. Beaubien came in from the Miamis, letters which he brought mention one Clarke with 80 men being at St. Vincennes where the French receive them well" (MPHC 9:479). The Wea, according to Beaubien, were "as yet undecided & timorous" (MPHC 9:479). Hamilton, though, hoped to reach them before the Americans, "Should I arrive time enough at Ouiattonon to speak to the Chiefs before they take a decisive part, I don't doubt the sight of the Chiefs from the Lakes will determine them as I could wish" (MPHC 9:480).

The next day Hamilton dispatched yet another detachment to Miamis Town "to assist the workmen in repairing the carrying place, assisting the Master Carpenter, Boat builder &c..." (MPHC 9:480). Hamilton was anxious to get to Miamis Town, which would be the staging area for his descent down the Wabash and the most important link in his supply line:

> There will be a store of provisions, perhaps of ammunition & Indian goods at that place, as soon as I arrive there I shall order a Redoubt to be thrown up the houses to be fortified, or other such precaution taken for its defence, as may appear best suited to the number of Inhabitants and nature of the Ground.
>
> If the Rebels at Fort Pitt with the assistance of the Delawares in their interest could effect the surprize of such a place, they would not only possess themselves of our magazine but cut off *one* of our communications with Detroit, as we might in that case be obliged to

> return by the way of St. Joseph & be distress'd for Provision...[MPHC 9:481].

Preparations continued and on October 2 Hamilton gathered the Indians in the commons where they took part in a feast (Barnhart 1951:105). Later that evening as the warriors ritually prepared for battle, Hamilton joined in and "sung the War Song, and was followed by Captain Lernoult and several officers &c and Warriors going on the Enterprize, the best disposition and alacrity shewn by all" (MPHC 9:482).

Finally on October 7 Hamilton set off for the Maumee. On the way Hamilton met Céloron who told him that the Americans were at Miamis Town (Barnhart 1951:107). Céloron had been spreading alarm all along the Maumee-Wabash waterway. At Miamis Town he told villagers that the Rebels were at Ouiatanon, "which alarm'd them so much that several hid their Stores (of food) in the woods" (Barnhart 1951:114). He proceeded down the Maumee to the Ottawa villages where he informed them that the Americans were at Miamis Town (Barnhart 1951:108). Hamilton remained skeptical and on October 12 he received "Letters from Capt. McLeod at the Miamis, Lorrain & Baubin, all agreeing in the falsity of the reports spread by Celoron" (Barnhart 1951:109).

Five days later, still in route to Miamis Town, Hamilton was met by Pacane, Le Gros Loup and Hibon (Hibou), also known as the Owl, Miami chiefs from Kekionga bearing the latest intelligence from Miamis Town. "Pacane told me the Rebels honor me with the title of the Dog. that they mean to use me as such-- that I am to be hawled like a fish out of the water, and to be sundryed-- that the Ottawas at River *grande glaize* (the Au Glaze River) longd to see us, as also the Miamis,-- that the carrying place of the Miamis was in good order--" (Barnhart 1951:113). Pacane, now somewhere near thirty years old, was the principal chief at Kekionga, located on the east bank of the St. Joseph River. On the west bank, Le Petit Gris presided over another village of Miami. Le Gros Loup was apparantly a representative of Le Petit Gris' village (Berthrong 1974:152) Herein Kekionga is used to refer to all of the Miami settlements at the headwaters of the Maumee.

The expedition reached Miamis Town on October 24. Hamilton describes their landing and the accompanying rituals:

> We proceeded about 8 o'clock, and put ashore at the plain near the Miamis Village, where the Young men of that nation saluted as usual with several discharges of small arms, Our Savages returnd the compliment , after which was a kind of mock battle with blank powder-- 7 rounds from the six pounder as a salute to the Miamis...Assembled the chiefs of all the Nations present, informd them of the cause of my coming, and thanked all present for their cheerful and quiet behaviour-- told them they were to have an Ox to each nation tomorrow, but no rum-- [Barnhart 1951:114].

The following day Hamilton met with the Miami at the village of Le Petit Gris where he was presented with "3 large basketts of Young corn, dried pumpion (pumpkin), and Kidney beans" as a show of the Miami's "sincere goodwill" (Barnhart 1951:115). To keep up the goodwill of the Indians, Hamilton called a council the next day "in the open field" next to the Miami village (Barnhart 1951:115). He addressed the chiefs, thanking them for their participation, fired off another salute from the six pounder and then produced the War Belts. Hamilton again sang the War Song, "in which I was followed by the Deputy agent, the chiefs, and principal warriors of the different nations" (Barnhart 1951:115).

October 29 through November 9 were spent manuvering the expedition through the portage to the forks of the Wabash (Barnhart 1951:117-119). Accompanied now by Pacane, Le Petit Gris and at least 30 warriors, Hamilton set off down the Wabash toward Vincennes (IHC 1:361). Only one night out of the forks, Hamilton became disconcerted by the Miami desire to make their camp several leagues forward of the main camp. He ordered Beaubien to "acquaint them that their encamping 5 leagues distant, was neither agreeable to me or the other nations..." (Barnhart 1951:120). This, however, was the Miami custom, the same witnessed fourteen years earlier by Morris, and Hamilton could not prevail upon them to break with tradition, thereby offending their manitous. At the next camp, the Miami again set up in the forward position. Though they would not budge on this issue, Le Petit Gris did address the Miami warriors, calling

on them to submit to some compromise; according to White a return to the middle ground (1991:373-374). Le Petit Gris said:

> Young men! We are now going to war, should any dispute arise among you, or hasty words pass, recollect that your busyness is War and let ir pass unnoticed-- War is sometimes necessary and the consequence to many must be death-- let us bear in mind that some of us must fall, and the rest return in mourning, but that thought must not deterr us from doing our duty-- We must die, when it is the will of the supreme being the master of life-- We are here mixed with the English, the French and several different tribes of the brown skins, let us not take offence at any thing which may be said, since we are unacquainted as well with their language as their customs-- however let no man even in joke use a threatening gesture with his knife, or his War axe-- These people [the Christians] have not the same religion with us, We believe in the Deities of the woods and rivers, as well as in the supreme lord, they believe only in one soveriegn being presiding over all-- Our method of making war is by surprize, Our father the Englishman has another method, however let us act our part as men, we must expect shot to fall as thick as drops of rain, but we are no more than men, born to die-- I exhort you all to diligence and activity, let every one bear his share in all fatigues...The various nations have different customs, I will not implore all their Deities, but pray for the protection of those of our own Nation and ask of them victory for my followers, and that we may be allowed to revisit our Villages, our Wives and our Children-- [Barnhart 1951:121-122].

Upon being told the next morning that it was "contrary to their customs to have the Nattes (Budgetts which contain their Household Gods, relics, and such things as they use in their divinations Medicines &ca) in their rear when going to War...", Hamilton relented, saying that he found "their superstition too strong to be combatted" and from that point on "they should on all occaisions fix their camp in their own manner, that is advanced toward the Enemy's country" (Barnhart 1951:122).

With that said, Hamilton went on to describe these Miami "superstitions" in some detail. As to their manner of setting up camp, Hamilton said:

> Large fires are kindled before which they lie in rows, on each side, with their feet towards the fire-- At their heads are placed their arms leaning against a rock-- In this position they go to sleep, and if any noise is made or alarm given, the first who hears it touches his neighbour, and the whole are presently roused, tho in silence, and take to their arms without bustle or confusion-- [Barnhart 1951:122].

Nearly ninety earlier the Sieur Deliette had recorded a remarkably similar account of Miami warfare practices. "the Illinois as well as the Miami have the maxim when they are on the march to go among the enemy in small parties never to make more than one fire, a fairly long one so that all the warriors may profit by it. They always lie down with their feet to the fire, and never put anything on themselves" (IHC 23:395).

On November 23, the Indians held war ceremonies at their various camps. Hamilton recorded some of what he saw and heard:

> This night the Indians sung to their Nattes as the French call them-- These are Budgets [medicine bundles] which contain little figures of different kinds, some as Amulets, some as household Gods, these when they go to war they paint with vermillion-- Their Priests who are usually their doctors are provided with an apparatus very different from our quacks, this is usually carryed in the budget and consists of the

> heads, bones or skins, Bows and arrows contrived with springs to bundle up with other valuable effects, Wolves teeth Panthers claws, Eagles talons &ca...
>
> When the camp fires are lighted and when the Warriors have finished their Meal, the Priests goes in front of the encampment and begins his incantation The Budget being a few paces before him-- at the full extent of his Voice He roars out his prayer or adjuration, which is in a tone between melancholic and terrific-- The various tunes in various languages bellowed aloud by these Heralds of the night, the thickness of the Woods and darkness of the Weather with the blaze of a great many large fires extending along the Savage camp for a considerable length, the intervals od silence from time to time broken by these horrible Songs, sometimes by a Chorus of Wolves in full cry after the Deer, formd a very strange but striking medley...[Barnhart 1951:127-128].

Finally, as the expedition neared Vincennes and expectations of battle were heightened another ceremony was held. This time Hamilton's curiosity got the better of him and he went to the Indian camps:

> told the chiefs I was not prompted by idle curiosity to pry into their ceremonies. That I highly commended their praying to the great Spirit, that he probably was pleased with their adoration, since among them all, there was not one sick man...
>
> The Priest at one of their camps stood at some distance from their fire, with his face toward the Wood having his budget hung upon two forked sticks, and in a very loud voice at the full extent of his lungs sung a hymn having a Chichiquoe or Indian rattle in his hand with which he kept time-- at certain pauses he howled like a Wolf, snorted like a horse, or imitated the cry of some wild beast or bird-- sometimes he uttered three distinct howls so loud and at the same time so dismal, as might have made the Knight of the fulling Mills tremble-
>
> 'Tis a rule with them not to pass before their Natte or Budgett On encamping they are placed something advance and toward the Enemy, in their water expeditions they are put in the bow of the canoe which they turn with the stern to the shore, that they may not irreverently step over their Natte-- It is a known fact that a Chief (I think of the Miamis) going to war and having charge of the Natte, finding some one had profaned the ground in front of the War budget immediately drew out a knife and stabbed himself to the heart, such is their blind reverence to their devoted relics and scraps-- [Barnhart 1951:145].

The manitous were apparently pleased with the Algonquian's adulation, for three days later, December 17, with Hamilton at their head, they retook Vincennes without firing a shot (Barnhart 1951:147-149). Vincennes was once more under British rule and whole affair had served to heighten the Algonquian's estimation of the British ability to defeat the rebels. The Miami, in particular, seemed more attached than ever to the British. Hamilton had helped foster this sentiment by conferring regularly with the chiefs. Pacane had met with Hamilton concerning war belts being circulated by the Chickasaw to the nations of the *pays d'en haut* (Barnhart 1951:128). Le Petit Gris took an active role in mediating between Hamilton's desire for military discipline and the Algonquians' far less structured mode of warfare. When White Fish, an eldery Shawnee chief lost an eye during the fracas created when the Algonquians commenced firing from their canoes at a flock of wild turkeys, it was Le Petit Gris who, the next day, consoled the Shawnee and "charged the chiefs to recommend to their young men to be less giddy..." (Barnhart 1951:140-141). He called on the Algonquians to "imitate the order and regularity of the whites" and told them that had "they listened to their fathers (Hamilton's) advise, this accident would not have happened" (Barnhart 1951:141).

Algonquians, though, were not British soldiers. The warriors grew restless with the inactivity at Vincennes and on January 20, 1779 Pacane and his warriors took their leave of Hamilton, promising to return in the spring (Barnhart 1951:165). Old Reaume, a chief of the Eel River Miami also left with his warriors that day saying that they had grown fat at Vincennes and that they meant to strike at the enemy before returning home (Barnhart 1951:166). Likewise, the Detroit militia, mostly Frenchmen pressed into service, longed for home and left Vincennes early in January (Barnhart 1951:161). The dispersion of Hamilton's makeshift army paved the way for Clark's now famous mid-winter march from Kaskaskia to once more capture Vincennes for the Americans (see Barnhart and Riker 1971:205-208).

Despite protestations of fidelity to the Americans by some Miami, on the whole, the Miami at Kekionga and on the Wabash remained pro-British. The Algonquians, including the Miami, told Major Arent S. de Peyster, at a Detroit council in March 1780 that "they would all rise & assist their eld brothers, and act in conjunction in future for the good of the King's Service" (in Berthrong 1974:153). Meanwhile in the Illinois country, a Frenchman named Augustin Mottin de La Balme was organizing an assault on Detroit which would bring the Revolution to Kekionga. La Balme's motivations seem somewhat contradictory and may have been driven more by a desire to achieve personal glory than ideological concerns. Though his expedition apparently had the tacit approval of American officals, he was extremely critical of the Virginians and Clark in particular (Barnhart and Riker 1971:223; Carter 1987:73). La Balme arrived at Vincennes in July, 1780, where according to Thomas Bentley, a trader of some renown in the *pays d'en haut*, he "had the address to ingratiate himself with the French people of this Place as also with the Savages to whom he has advanced things prejudicial to the Int^{t} of the State" (IHC 5:169). Bentley went on to say that "everything he (La Balme) advances tends to advance the French Interest & depreciate the American" (IHC 5:169).

From Vincennes, La Balme traveled to French settlements along the Mississippi, stirring up French resentment of both the Americans and the British; "The Virginians are not the only scourge which afflicts you, gentlemen. On their side the English barbarians are giving abundantly of goods, of munitions of war, and are scattering with profusion buring liquors (the guardian God of the Indians) in order to have your throats, one after the other, cut..." (IHC 5:184). The solution, La Balme contended, was to "make an offensive war" (ICH 5:185). His plan was to proceed to Ouiatanon, where he would gather reinforcements for the final push to "surprise or to block the English at Detroit" (IHC 5:186). While in the Illinois country, he gathered intelligence on the whereabouts and likely disposition of the French and Indian communities along the Maumee-Wabash waterway. At Miamis Town the majority of the French inhabitants were expected to be "inclined toward the cause" (IHC 14:132). It was reported that Beaubien's warehouse at Miamis Town contained a "thousand pounds of powder and of lead in proportion, arms, blankets, cloth, shirts, and other merchandise of trade value" (IHC 14:132).

Beaubien remained the British agent at Miamis Town and his attachment to both the Miami and to the British was above reproach. He had married Tecumwah, the sister of Pacane (Carter 1987:73). He was the most influential trader at Miamis Town and a major influence in keeping the Miami within the British fold. This put him at odds with many of the French, who still harboured deep resentment toward the British. La Balme was one of these. Waiting for reinforcements at Ouiatanon in October with his small army of French Canadian volunteers, La Balme grew impatient. He left Ouiatanon and proceeded toward Miamis Town, expecting that the reinforcements would "all hasten to the post without losing an instant at Ouya..." (IHC 14:128). Once at Miamis Town, he promised that he would "preserve for them their share of the booty which he hopes to seize from the accursed Baubin" (IHC 14:128).

La Balme tarried twelve days at Miamis Town, waiting in vain for reinforcements from Vincennes (MPHC 10:448). Finding most of the warriors were away from the villages, he made good on his promise to plunder Beaubien's warehouse. His men also stole horses from the inhabitants and butchered all of the "horned cattle" at the village (IHC 14:117). Disuaded from continuing on to Detroit and perhaps growing uneasy at the impending return of the warriors, La Balme retreated from Miamis Town. He encamped the night of November 4 on either the Aboite or Eel River, just twelve miles from the village (see Carter 1987:74, 80n). The returning warriors were enraged by La Balme's actions. In the pre-dawn hours of November 5, under the leadership of an Eel River war chief named Little Turtle, the Miami attacked and decimated La Balme and his men (Anson 1970:91; Carter 1987:74). De Peyster got word of the attack on November 13 and wrote, "the Indians, who soon after (the occupation of Kekionga) assembled and attacked the Canadians, led by a French colonel...The Miami, receiving the fire of the enemy, had five of their party killed, being, however, more resolute than savages are in general, they beat off the enemy" and "killed

thirty..." (IHC 14:117). De Peyster, though obviously pleased with the outcome, suspected the motivations of the Miami:

> Upon the whole I believe it was the thoughts that I would allow no more goods amongst them--if they did not defend those they had--be it as it will, the Chiefs make a merit of being faithful allies, and I must improve the lucky moment, therefore, least the Party expected [La Balme's phantom reinforcements] should endeavour to revenge the affront, I send off the Rangers to take post at the Miamie Town to act in concert with that Nation, which now is fairly entered.
>
> Your Excellency will see the necessity of continuing them a Trader, who I propose shall be Monsr. Beaubin (whom the people of Post Vincent wish to hang)...[MPHC 10:449].

Part of his suspicion stemmed from the fact that La Balme had made it all the way to Miamis Town and had been there for twelve days before he recieved word of it. The Miami told him "that the few then at the village were surrounded, and did not dare stir till the Enemy retreated, at which lucky period war parties arrived" (MPHC 10:449). The whole affair served to restore British prestige, damaged by Hamilton's surrender at Vincennes and strengthen the ties between the Miami at Kekionga and the British (Barnhart and Riker 1971:223).

The Rangers sent to Miamis Town spent the winter monitoring events along the Maumee-Wabash waterway. In Feburary, 1781 the French Canadians and Piankashaw sent a message addressed to Pacane at Kekionga, challenging him to join with them against the British, "You are all fools who listen to the English, who amuse us with the porcelain axes. As for ours it is so heavy that nothing can resist it, you will feel it then (throwing the strings [of wampum] to the earth) there is how I would treat those who will not be guided by the present speech..." (MPHC 19:594). Pacane, clearly still incensed over La Balme's raid on Miamis Town, unequivocally rejected the Piankashaws offer:

> You fools who say that the porcelain axes are good for nothing, you do not know the consequence nor the force, since you have none to use, since you believe that they are not strong, good Ouiatanons, take this tomahawk go and try it on the head of the Virginians or the French who are their party...
>
> As for me I look upon the threats of the Indians against us as nothing, they tell us that their axes are dull because they are of wood; but that of our father is of iron and well sharpened...
>
> My brothers, this is the way in which our young warriors live today after having used the axe, they serve them as knives to make their mark as warriors, it is not shameful for you that the children shew you the knives stained with blood of the French, which you have brought here to destroy us, pillage and rob us, these are your friends and our enemies...
>
> You see our village stained with blood, you can think that we are not going to extend the hand to your friends who are our enemies, you can understand that if we find you with them we will not make any distiction [MPHC 19:595-596].

Upon ending his speech, Pacane stood up and sang the war song, at which point he was joined by many of his warriors (MPHC 19:596).

The Miami dispersed to their winter hunting grounds but tensions between them and the Wabash Miami tribes remained high. When a small group hunting near the Wea were told that the French were in route to destroy Kekionga, the alarm was spread and the warriors hastened back to the village (MPHC 19:599). Captain A. Thompson, of the Rangers posted at Miamis Town, reported to De Peyster that despite such rumors, the Miami were in high spirits and that they were continually requesting that more assistance

be sent to them so that they could go against Vincennes, "the only place that gives them any uneasiness" (MPHC 19:599).

That spring De Peyster held a council at Detroit where he urged the Miami, among other nations, to take up the hatchet against the Americans (Berthrong 1974:153). Following a summer of raids, a party of Miami warriors ventured to Detroit at the end of October with their spoils of war, "Father! I am sent into you from our Chiefs in all haste for Powder & Ball, the Dry'd meat you see here (Seven Scalps) is the produce of our Warriours who desire it to be presented to you" (MPHC 10:532). The Miami were still preoccupied with rumored attacks from Vincennes and they begged De Peyster not to "think anything too precious for the young warriors, but give them freely" as they had "been this summer for the Kings cause ag't the Enemy..." (MPHC 10:533). The warriors expected to be rewarded for their exploits and asked De Peyster "to give us in profusion of that Shining Metal, an ornament which draws the attention of the Warriours..." (MPHC 10:533). Here the warriors may have been referring to the medals and gorgets which had become the symbols of the British-Algonquian alliance and which White sees as part of the continuing evolution of a middle ground between the two groups (1991:403). Haldimand made explicit the dispersal of these symbols of alliance:

> Chiefs are always to be distinguished...this is usually done in Silver Trinkets, for Instance, if an old Chief of their Council has no Medal, a large one with a red, or blue Ribbon should be given to him - A Young Counsellor, a smaller Medal - and to a War Chief, a gorget with the King's Arms engraved upon it. These Marks of Distiction are to be put on by the Officer of their affairs...[in White 1991:403].

The following summer (1782) De Peyster summoned the Algonquians once again to Detroit. He remained somewhat skeptical of the Wabash villager's fidelity and their resolve to keep the Americans off of the Wabash (MPHC 10:588). He singled out Pacane as an exception to his skepticism saying that he was "fully satisfied with the Miami because they think as he does" (MPHC 10:588). De Peyster closed the council with a call to arms, as he was outfitting a ship to sail to Sandusky immediately; "if there are any among you who are disposed to go that way to assist your Brethern, let them declare themselves and prepare to embark in the Vessel..." (MPHC 10:590). To those returning to their villages, he warned that they should "oppose all attempts of the enemy should the[y] come up the Ouaback or elsewhere..." (MPHC 10:590).

A month later, Beaubien ventured to Detroit with intelligence from Kekionga (MPHC 10:600). He carried with him a speech from Le Petit Gris to De Peyster assuring him of their continued fidelity. As proof, Le Petit Gris dispatched thirty warriors to the Ohio country to assist British Indian Agent Alexander McKee in raids on American frontier settlements (MPHC 10:600). De Peyster, hoping to capitalize on the belligerent spirit of the Miami, ordered Beaubien back to Kekionga "to raise the rest of the Miamis and march with them to your (McKee's) assistance" (MPHC 10:600).

Though the Algonquians, with British support, were enjoying considerable success against the Americans, events on the east coast and in the dipolmatic sphere were taking place which would once again see Algonquian concerns shelved as peace negociations between the Americans and the British brought hostilities to a halt. De Peyster and the other British commandants sent word to the Algonquians to cease all offensive actions against the Americans (White 1991:407-408). De Peyster wrote Haldimand that he felt most of the Indians were inclined toward peace, but he was not so sure about the Wabash tribes, saying that he would "find some difficulty to restrain" them (MPHC 11:362). On May 6, 1783 De Peyster received word of the official peace proclaimation and immediately sent "Beaubin to the Miamis and Wabashers" (MPHC 11:364). Until he received further word, he told the McKee "we must sit upon our matts and smoke, or at most do no more than keep a look out for own Security" (MPHC 11:364).

Although the struggle over who actually held suzerainty over the pays *d'en haut*--the Americans, the British, or the Algonquians--would play out over the next quarter century, the Americans began to take stock of their paper possessions soon after the war. In 1785 the first American envoys reached Kekionga. Samuel Montgomery and three other Americans, along with Wyandot and Delaware guides, were traveling through the Indian country inviting all the nations to a council with the Americans to be held at the mouth of the Miami River (Bushnell 1915:261). They reached Kekionga in September. Like Morris nineteen years

earlier, the Americans' reception was somewhat less than gracious. Montgomery transcribed the events at Kekionga in his journal (Bushnell 1915). Upon arrival the envoys spent the day "procuring a knowledge of the disposition of the nation of the Miamis, residing here, and the means of advising of the design of our visit" (Bushnell 1915:267). The Miami informed the Americans that their principal chiefs were absent from Kekionga. Pedigue--an Anglicized version of Le Petit Gris--was on a visit to Detroit and "Pacan their next chief, offended at, and discont[ent]ed by their unpacific, and disorderly conduct, retired from them, and now resides at Post S[t] Vincent" (Bushnell 1915:268). In their absence a chief named Orson? agreed to meet in council with the Americans (Bushnell 1915:268). Montgomery was taken aback by the barely consealed hostility of the Miami:

> we met the Chief in a council and read the message addressed to this nation, on presenting the belt it was received in manner cool, and astonishing indifferent, or rather irresolute and dubious whether to accept or reject. The conduct of the warriors attending was also by no means descriptive of the character peculiar to the Indians, for, instead of being attentive, and dispassionate to thing told them on such occaisions: instead of acting with caution in secreting their sentiments by their actions, they were totally the reverse [Bushnell 1915:268].

That evening the warriors crept to the American's camp and stole all of their horses, including those of their Wyandot and Delaware guides. After secreting away the horses, the warriors returned. They accosted the now frightened Americans, hurling insults and threatening bodily harm. Only the influence of a group of elders and the American's Indian guides prevented bloodshed. The warriors satiated their anger by plundering some pack saddles, leaving the shaken Americans to enjoy a night of "rest without slumber" (Bushnell 1915:268-269). Montgomery and his companions spent the next four days trying to win back their horses. They moved into Miamis Town, which they felt afforded them some degree of security. After two days of bargaining, they called on Orson for another council at which time they demanded the return of their horses. The chief replied that the warriors who had taken the horses were beyond his control (Bushnell 1915:270). Finally, on the sixth day of their visit, they were able to buy back their own horses and be on their way. Montgomery recorded his impressions of the Miami:

> This nation is somewhat hostile, and illy disposed, blinded and misguided by the influence of a nation [England] by their Agent and Emissaries, an influence which governs them in all their councils, and which has instilled into them prejudices toward the United States, and which their Citizens [the Americans] have too severly felt--an influence, which will prevent, and by which they will not be easily induced to receive the protection and friendship offered them...They are not numerous but they are closely confederated with the nations more western of them, whose inclinations are actuated by the same influence towards us [Bushnell 1915:271].

Of Miamis Town he had this to say:

> The Miami town is a considerable post of trade, and consists of 12 or 14 commodious houses, situated on the Omi [Maumee] or Ottaway river. The easy navigation of this river for Boats to Detroit,--the near connection of it to the waters of the Wabash, must render this place very advantageous [Bushnell 1915:271].

Montgomery makes mention of the Miami as being "confederated" with several other Indian nations and indeed Kekionga was emerging as a center of Indian resistence to American encroachment north of the Ohio River. All along the American frontier fear spread that the western tribes--primarily the Algonquians of the *pays d'en haut*--would unite "to make common cause" of their grievances (Smith 1882

(2):10). The so-called Miami Confederacy, made up of pro-British factions from most of the Indian nations of the *pays d'en haut* and some western Iroquois, was centered at Kekionga (see Anson 1970:95-138 and White 1991:413-468 for detailed discussions of the confederated Indian groups). At the headwaters of the Maumee the Miami were still divided between two main villages; one led by Le Petit Gris and the other by Pacane. However, as Montgomery noted, Pacane had left Kekionga with at least part of his village and settled near Vincennes.

Vincennes had become the focus of American plans for occupying the Wabash region. As such it also became a target for Indian aggression. In June 1786 warriors attacked and wounded two Americans working in the fields near Vincennes. Led by Daniel Sullivan, the Americans quickly assembled and marched into Vincennes looking to get revenge on the first Indian they encountered. This they did on a sick Indian who was under the care of some French in the town. After killing and scalping the hapless Indian, the Americans dragged his body through the streets (White 1991:425). Outraged and fearful of the response this murder would excite from the Wabash warriors, La Gras, who was still the leading French citizen at Vincennes, ordered all Americans there illegally to leave immediately and ordered Sullivan from the town despite the fact that he possesed the proper papers (White 1991:425). Less than a month later the Indians gathered a large war party, between 450 and 700 warriors, and moved down the Wabash toward Vincennes. La Gras and another Frenchman, François Bosseron acted quickly to defuse the situation by mediating with chiefs--including an Eel River Miami. Reluctantly, the warriors dispersed, but not until they had destroyed Sullivan's crops and shot up his house; promising that they would return in the fall (White 1991:425).

This abortative attack brought George Rogers Clark once more to Vincennes, this time at the request of both the Americans and the French. He arrived in the fall with a force of Kentucky militia. Two days march out of Vincennes, Clark's men mutinied and he was forced to return (White 1991:425-427). Once there, Clark enlisted Pacane to act as his intermediary between the Americans and the Indians along the Maumee-Wabash waterway. Pacane agreed and in October he carried Clark's messages to the Wabash tribes (White 1991: 426n,427). Pacane's departure from Kekionga and his defection to the Americans is somewhat puzzling, given his staunch support of the British up until 1785 and the fact that prior to Clark's arrival a party of Kentuckians had killed and then mutilated some of his kinsmen, including his father-in-law (White 1991:427). Both Anson (1970:103-104) and Carter (1987:75-76) see Pacane's move less as a defection than as a ploy by the Miami to keep abreast of American movements and intentions along the lower Wabash. Whatever his motivations, he would serve the Americans in various capacities over the next two years.

Clark's proposed council with the Wabash tribes never materialized and in April 1787 Congress authorized Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar to dispossess the "body of men who have in a lawless and unauthorised manner taken possession of post St. Vincents"--Clark's garrison (Thornbrough 1957:7). Harmar arrived at Vincennes on July 17 (Thornbrough 1957:35). Harmar lost no time in trying to pacify the Wabash tribes. He met with the Vermillion River Piankashaw and through them sent messages up river to the Wea and Miami, enjoining them to meet him at Vincennes (Thornbrough 1957:37). That done, Harmar set out for Kaskaskia "in order that I might be enabled to render a statement of affairs in that part of the United States" (Thornbrough 1957:37). On this trip Harmar was "accompanied by two Indians (Pacahn, a Miami chief, & his comrade), who hunted & supplied the party with meat (Buffalo & deer) both on the march and on our return" (Thornbrough 1957:47). Pacane seems to have been making a concerted effort to attach himself to the Americans.

Back at Vincennes, the Wea and Piankashaw accepted Harmar's invitation and met him in council early in September. Harmar told the tribesmen that the United States desired peace with the Indians but that he was "authorized to destroy those otherwise inclined"; in his words, to "march to their towns and sweep them off the face of the earth" (Denny 1860:310; Thornbrough 1957:51). In response the chiefs of the Wea and Piankashaw offered protestations of friendship, each presenting Harmar with a calumet and a string of wampum (Denny 1860:310). Two days later the chiefs returned to Harmar "expecting, as was customary, some presents" (Denny 1860:310). Like his British counterparts some twenty five years earlier, Harmar ignored the protocol of the middle ground and, indeed, flaunted the United States' unwillingness to act as a Father to the Algonquians, telling them that the Americans "were warriors" who came not "to purchase their friendship with trinkets, but barely to take them by the hand if they chose to give it; if they did not, it was a matter of indifference" (Denny 1860:310; White 1991:429). It was a most inauspicious start to American-

Algonquian relations. Placing Major John Francis Hamtramck in charge of a small garrison, Harmar departed from Vincennes on October 1 (Thornbrough 1957:53-54).

Depredations, both Indian and American, continued the following spring and summer. In May 1788 Hamtramack received word from Ouiatanon that "scalps are dayly brough[t] in supposed to come from Kentuckey" (Thornbrough 1957:76-77). At Kekionga much the same was reported. Jean Baptiste Constan, a French Canadian who had earlier served as an interpreter for Harmar, had been in Kekionga that summer. He also told of "5 & 6 scalps" being brought into Kekionga daily and, more alarming, that American prisoners were regularly being burned at the stake (Thornbrough 1957:108).

All the while, the British were encouraging the Algonquian raids and supplying the warriors with arms and ammunition as well as other goods. Constan had stopped at Ouiatanon on his way down to Vincennes, While there "a courier had arrived from Capt. McKee the British commissionair for Indian affairs to request their chiefs to attend to a treaty that was to be held at Roche Dubout (Roche de Bout)..." (Thornbrough 1957:108). Upon hearing this, Hamtramck dispatched Pacane, calling him a "good Indian", to the Maumee to attend the British council and gather intelligence for the Americans (Thornbrough 1957:108). Much as he had done with Hamilton and De Peyster at Detroit, Pacane had managed to ingratiate himself with the American leaders at Vincennes. He was apparently in the employ of the Americans, for Hamtramck noted that he had earlier sent him "after the drumer the deserter" (Thornbrough 1957:108).

Unfortunately for Pacane, the American frontiersmen no longer distinguished between hostile and pro-American Indians during their raids into Indian country. In July Lieutenant William Peters took a small detachment to the mouth of the Wabash to procure a shipment of supplies coming from Kaskaskia. After loading supplies into three pirogues and a barge, Peters started back toward Vincennes. After only two miles, the Americans were attacked from both sides of the river by Kickapoo warriors, killing at least nine, wounding several others and capturing two of the supply laden pirogues (Thornbrough 1957:109-110, 119). In response to this and other Indian raids, Patrick Brown, a Kentuckian, assembled sixty men and crossed the Ohio in pursuit of the Indians who had been raiding near the mouth of the Wabash (Thornbrough 1957:114; Smith 1882: 90). On August 18, Brown and his men swaggered into Vincennes. He told Hamtramck that "he was after Indians and had killed nine that morning" (Thornbrough 1957:115). Hamtramck pointed out to Brown that he had no authority to kill anyone, let alone Indians that "were in a pasific state and under the protection of the United States" (Thornbrough 1957:115). For as it turned out the Indians killed by Brown were the kinsmen of Pacane and La Demoiselle, a Piankashaw chief who had also joined the Americans at Vincennes (Thornbrough 1957:116; White 1991:427). Brown and company had also stolen six horses and seven rifles from the murdered Miami and Hamtramck determined to get them back. He sent a Captain Furgeson "twice to him (Brown) to demand the horses he had belonging to Pakan and dire[c]ted Capt. Furgeson to inform him that Pakan and his Indians were imployed in the service of the United States" (Thornbrough 1957:116). In fact, Pacane was still on the Maumee gathering intelligence on the upcoming Roche de Bout council when his band was attacked (Thornbrough 1957:116).

Hamtramck next acted to mitigate the damage done by Brown. He called the Indians living around Vincennes--including the bands of Pacane and La Demoiselle --in for a council. He told the Indians that Brown had acted without any authority from the United States and that he disapproved of their conduct. Nonetheless, many no longer felt safe among the Americans and chose to leave Vincennes. Pacane's band traveled up the Wabash to the Piankashaw villages at Terre Haute to await the return of their leader (Thornbrough 1975:117). Pacane received word of the attack and went to join the rest of his followers before the council at Roche de Bout got underway (Thornbrough 1957:124). Both Anson (1970:10) and Carter (1987:76) assert that Pacane returned to Kekionga in the fall of 1788, after meeting his band at Terre Haute. It is possible that he migrated to the Mississippi (Berthrong 1974:159). At any rate, he did not report back to Hamtramck at Vincennes; Miami attempts at conciliation with the Americans were over.

In the spring (1789) the Miami and Wabash tribes returned to their villages from their wintering camps. War parties soon resumed raiding American settlements. In April Hamtramck obtained intelligence from Ouiatanon that "all the Wabash Indians (except those that are out hunting) have gone to war in Kentucky (Thornbrough 1957:166). Just as the Kentuckians had dipensed with discriminating between hostile and peaceful Indians, Hamtramck reported that the "discrimination of French & English is done with" (Thornbrough 1957:169). The long standing friendship between the French Canadians and the Indians of the *pays d'en haut* was becoming strained as both sides attempted to come to grips with the Americans. The

Wabash and Miami Indians, he said, were "badly disposed" and had "for some days passed...killed a number of people" (Thornbrough 1957:169).

By the fall American officials began formulating plans to stop the border warfare between the Kentuckians and the Maumee-Wabash tribes. Governor of the newly created Northwest Territory, Arthur St. Clair, wrote to President Washington in September:

> The constant hostilities between the Indians who live upon the Wabash and the people of Kentucky must necessarily be attended with such embarrassing circumstances to the government of the Western Territory, that I am induced to request you will pleased to take the matter into consideration, and give me the orders you may think proper.
>
> It is not to be expected, sir, that the Kentucky people will or can submit patiently to the cruelties and depredations of those savages; they are in the habit of retaliation...The United States, on the other hand, are at peace with several of the nations, and should the resentment of those people [the Kentuckians] fall on any of them, which it is likely enough may happen, very bad consequences will follow...They will unite with the hostile nations, prudently preferring open war to a delusive and uncertain peace [Smith 1882 (2):124].

Washington replied that he "should as soon as possible, possess full information whether the Wabash and Illinois Indians are most inclined for war or peace" (Smith 1882 (2):125). Washington stressed the the United States hoped to remain at peace with the western tribes, but if that did not prove possible, St. Clair was "authorized and empowered" to "call on the lieutenants of the nearest counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania for such detachments of militia as you may judge proper..." (Smith 1882 (2):125).

Accordingly, St. Clair drafted a message to "the Indians of the Wabash and those of the Miami village" which he sent to Hamtramck at Vincennes (Smith 1882 (2):130). Hamtramck was to forward St. Clair's speech to the Indians but as he received it in the dead of winter, when the Indians were dispersed in their hunting camps, he held it until the chiefs and warriors could "be present and deliberate on the propositions made to them" (Thornbrough 1957:224n). Hamtramck wrote to Harmar that while he thought the "Wabash Indians will have no objections to come in to pacific measures with the United States, but I have my doubts about the Miamie" (Thornbrough 1957:225). They were, he said, "too near the British influance and if I have not given you any newse from Detroit it is because these rascals have shut the communication betwixt Detroit and us for 15 months pass" (Thornbrough 1957:225). The Miami at Kekionga, in control of the portage, had cut off the communication route from Detroit to Vincennes.

While no American could safely venture to Kekionga, British traders from Detroit could and often did travel to the Miami settlements. One such trader was Henry Hay, who spent the winter of 1789-1790 at Miamis Town. Hay kept a journal of his stay and it provides much insight into the daily lives of the Indians, French Canadians and British living at the headwaters of the Maumee (Quaife 1915). From almost his first day there, Hay bore graphic witness to the Miami war on the Americans. He arrived at Miamis Town on December 16 and on the 18th he wrote, "This day a prisoner was brought in here; Rather a eldery man was taken better than a month ago at a place called the little Miami--the Americans are now making a settlement at that place" (Quaife 1915:217). His captors were Delaware warriors who questioned him concerning the American activities on the Little Miami River and then told him he was free to leave in the spring (Quaife 1915). Kekionga had by 1787 become home to growing numbers of anti-American tribes, who established villages adjacent to the Miami villages at the headwaters of the Maumee (see Tanner 1987:Map 18). St. Clair wrote in January 1790 that Kekionga was inhabited not only by the Miami but also "the renegade Shawanese, Delawares, and Cherokees" (Smith 1882 (2):132).

The next day Little Turtle, "with his war party consisting of about fifteen or sixteen" arrived at Miamis Town (Quaife 1915:220). Little Turtle's warriors had apparently captured two prisoners--one a black slave--only to lose them back to the Americans (Quaife 1915:220). Hamtramck had earlier noted that in the border warfare, slaves, "because they sell well", were "the only ones who have a chance of their lifes" (Thronbrough 1957:169). Other Americans did not fair so well. On December 20 Hay saw the "Rifle Horn

& Pouche Bag" belonging to the American that was killed by the Indians" (Quaife 1915:220). Hay goes on to related the killing and the motivation for the killing of this unnamed American:

> I find that this man was immediately killed after he was taken by one of the party who struck him twice or thrice in the back an side, in consequence he said of having some of his own relations killed lately. This is their way of retaliating; the young fellow that had taken him offered to hinder the other, but could not he was in too great a passion [Quaife 1915:220].

The warrior who had avenged the loss of his kinsmen cut out the Americans heart and took his scalp. These items he incorporated into his war bundle and were described by Hays, "it (the heart) was quite drye, like a piece of dryed venison, with a small stick run from one end of it to the other & fastened behind the fellows bundle that killed him, with also his Scalp" (Quaife 1915:222-223).

Hay also described the political arrangement of the aboriginal villages at Kekionga:

> There are two Villages at this place one on this side the River & one on the other--the former belongs to the Gree [Le Petit Gris]--the other to Paccan who's now in Illinois, but in his absence is Commanded by his nephew one Mr. Jean Baptist Richerville, son to one Mr. Richerville of *Three Rivers* in Cannada by an Indian woman--[Quaife 1915:223].

Le Petite Gris remained the primary chief at Kekionga, his influence extending even to the French Canadian inhabitants of Miamis Town. Hay's assertion that Pacane had gone to the Illinois country is confirmed by the Spanish commandant at Fort Don Carlos, on the Arkansas River, Joseph Vallieres, who wrote on January 12, 1790 that the "great chief of the Miami nation, Pacana, with his family and nine men, making a total of thirty-four persons, arrived at this post on the third of last December..." (in Berthrong 1974:159). At the time of Hay's visit, though, most of the Miami of both villages were away in wintering camps, coming in to Kekionga only occaisionally to trade, socialize or both (Quaife 1915:229-232).

As the weather began to break in the spring, the Miami began returning to their villages and the warriors thoughts turned once more to raiding. A group of Shawnee arrived at the village on March 19. They had been raiding along the Ohio River and where they had killed several Americans and had taken a small number of prisoners (Quaife 1915:259). One prisoner, John Thompson, told Hay the Americans were also gearing up for war; that General St Clair was planning a council at Vincennes but that if it failed, they were determined to fight (Quaife 1915:260).

Thompson was alluding to the message that St. Clair had drafted and that Hamtramck still held. With the coming of spring Hamtramck now acted to get St. Clair's message to the Wabash tribes and the Miami at Kekionga. The latter, he still contended, were deserving of a "good flogging" rather than a treaty invitation (Thornbrough 1957:224n). Hamtramck selected Pierre Gamlin to carry the message up the Wabash. Gamlin's first stop was at the Piankashaw villages on the Vermillion River where, though graciously received by the chiefs, his life was threatened by a personal enemy among the tribe. Unable to continue, Gamlin returned to Vincennes (Smith 1882 (2):135). Hamtramck next sent Antoine Gamlin to finish the mission. All along the route to Kekionga, Gamlin found the Wabash tribes noncommittal, the Kickapoo saying they could do nothing without consulting the Wea, the Wea and the Eel River Miami telling him that they could make no decision without first consulting with the Miami at Kekionga [American State Papers Indian Affairs (ASP IA) 1:93].

At Kekionga Gamlin assembled the Miami, Delaware and Shawnee and delivered St. Clair and Hamtramcks' messages. Upon deliberation, the Miami, too, remained standoffish. Le Petit Gris, who Gamlin called "the great chief of the Miamies" replied to the American proposals:

> Don't take bad...of what I am to tell you; you may go back when you please. We cannot give you a positive answer; we must send your speeches to all our neighbors and to the Lake nations; we cannot give a

> definitive answer without consulting the commandant of Detroit [ASP IA (1):94].

He told Gamlin that he would send a "young man from each nation" with an answer to Vincennes in thirty days but that nothing could be resolved without the "unanimous consent" of all of the "confederates" (ASP IA (1):94).

Hamtramck reported the results of Gamlin's mission to Harmar, calling the Indians indecisiveness "excuses" which were "unfavorable omens, for they certainly are acquainted with each others sentiments..." (Thornbrough 1957:233). He concluded that "war seems inevitable" (Thornbrough 1957:233). For the Miami and their confederates, the war was already well underway. Hamtramck received a report that only three days after Gamlin left Kekionga an American prisoner was burned there and that war parties had departed for Kentucky not long after Gamlin's visit (Thornbrough 1957:233).

Upon receiving Gamlin's journal and Hamtramck's intelligence reports, St. Clair wrote the Secretary of War that he now felt "there was not the smallest probability of an accommodation with the Indians of that river (the Wabash) and of the Miami" (ASP IA (1):92). Accordingly, he set in motion plans to subdue the Wabash tribes and to strike a major blow against Kekionga. St. Clair's plan called for a two pronged attack emanating from Vincennes and Fort Washington, St. Clair's headquarters on the Ohio River (Figure 11). Harmar was to lead the main force from Fort Washington to attack Kekionga while Hamtramck took a diversionary force up the Wabash. Harmar summed up the plan in a letter to Hamtramck, " you are to strike either at Vermillion, L'Anguille, or if you should judge it any way practicable, the Weea Towns. At any rate I expect you will manouvre in such a manner as to divert the attention of the Miamis to that quarter, whilst I shall use all possible means to destroy their village..." (Thornbrough 1957:237).

Both armies set off for their objectives on September 30, 1790. Hamtramck made it only to the Vermillion River before the militia, unwilling to accept half rations and continue to the Wea villages, defected. Hamtramck was forced to return to Vincennes without engaging any Indians. He found the Vermillion towns deserted, the Indians apparently leaving several days in advance of the armies arrival (Thornbrough 1957:259). Hamtramck movements did provide the diversion Harmar had hoped they would. Two Wea from Crooked Legs band, a Wea chief who had remained faithful to the Americans, told Hamtramck that "non of the Wabash Indians had gone to the Miamie, as they suspected that an expedition was coming against them and that the Weeya was the place of the rendezvous" (Thornbrough 1957:264). The Miami and their confederates would receive no assistance from the Wabash tribes.

Marching overland from Fort Washington, Harmar hoped to surprise the Miami. His force consisted of 1,133 miltia and 320 regular troops, a total of 1,453 men (Denny 1860:346). On the fourteenth day of their march an advance patrol captured a Shawnee who told them that Indians at and around Kekionga were aware of Harmar's advance and were evacuating their villages (Denny 1860:347). Harmar, like Hamtramck was anxious to engage the Indians and in response to this news sent Colonel John Hardin "with six hundred light troops, to push for the Miami village" (Denny 1860:347). They arrived too late and like Hamtramck found only deserted villages. Major Ebenezer Denny described the scene (see Figure 12):

> Two very considerable branches meet here, the St. Joseph from the north-west, and the St. Mary from the south-west, which form the Miami or Omee, emptying into Lake Erie. Several little towns on both branches, but the principal one is below the confluence on the north side. Several tolerable good log houses, said to have been occupied by British traders; a few pretty good gardens with some fruit trees, and vast fields of corn in almost every direction. The militia picked up as much plunder as loaded some of them home. A great deal is found hidden and buried about, and many things left as if the enemy went off in a hurry [Denny 1860:349].

Hardin was still itching for a fight, so when the a reconnaissance pary returned without finding the main body of Indians, he led a second party out to do the job. It was the Miami who found Hardin. About ten miles from the main army the Indians "commenced a fire at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards,

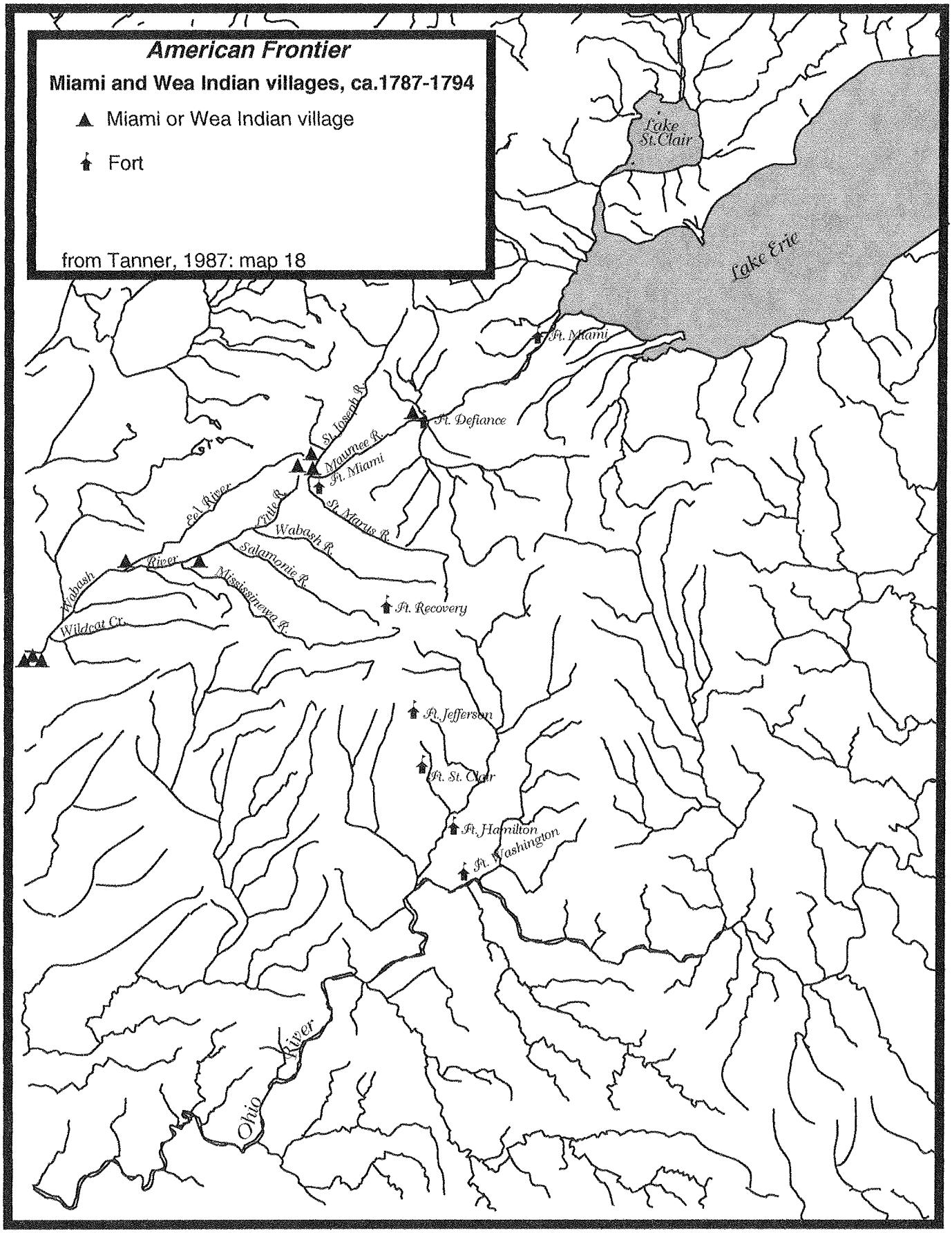


Figure 11. Miami and Wea Indian Villages, ca. 1787-1794.

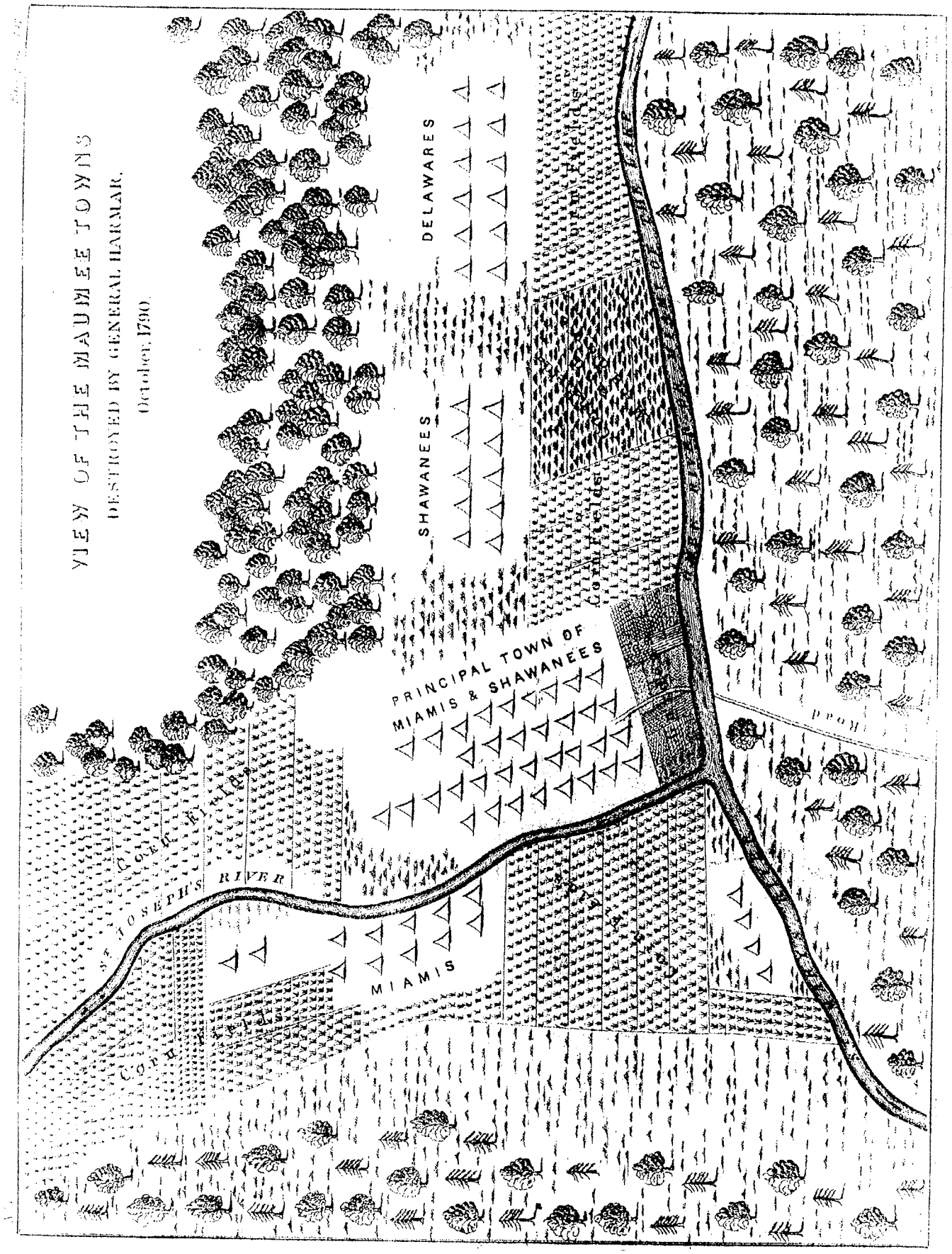


Figure 12. Map of Kekionga in 1790 (Denny 1860).

and advanced. The greatest number of the militia fled without firing a shot; some few, with thirty regulars that were of the detachment, stood and were cut to pieces" (Denny 1860:350). Taking the defeat rather in stride, Harmar busied the troops the next day "burning and destroying everything that could be of use: corn, beans, pumpkins, stacks of hay, fencing and cabins, &c." (Denny 1860:350-351). All told, Harmar burned six villages and consumed or destroyed twenty thousand bushels of corn.

The first night out of the villages Harmar, wanting to regain some of the armie's lost prestige, sent a detachment under Major John P. Wyllys back to Kekionga hoping to catch the Indians coming back into their villages. It was the Americans, though, who were again surprised. Using decoys to draw off the militia, thereby leaving the regulars exposed, the Indians under Little Turtle overwhelmed Wyllys' troops and inflicted severe causalities (Denny 1860:351-353). Battered and bloodied, Harmar decide against any further attacks on the village and beat a hurried retreat back to Fort Washington. Harmar tried to put the best light on his expedition saying that "Although our loss is great...Every account agrees that upwards of one hundred warriors fell in the battle; it is not more than man for man and we can afford them two for one" (ASP IA (1):106). A military court of inquiry cleared Harmar of any misconduct (Anson 1970:116).

Hostilities were now in full swing. Though the loss of their villages and crops had left the Miami and their confederates to face a harsh winter with very few supplies, they remained upbeat and confident that they could face down the Americans. The British continued to assist the confederacy from behind the scenes and Hamtramck received word that the Miami had gone to Detroit during the winter of 1790-1791 (Thornbrough 1957:275). Supplied with arms and ammunition as well as provisions, the Miami warriors continued throughout the winter to carry the war to the Americans.

The Americans spent the winter preparing for spring at which time another major effort against the Wabash tribes was scheduled. This time the target was to be the Wea and other villages on the central Wabash. General Charles Scott set out over land with a force of about eight hundred mounted militia men in late May 1791 (Barnhart and Riker 1971:290). In early June they reached and destroyed the Wea and Kickapoo towns at and around Ouiatanon as well as the mixed French and Indian town of Kethtippecanunk at the mouth of the Tippecanoe River (see ASP IA (1):131-133 for Scott's accounts of these actions).

Following the relative success of Scott's expedition, St. Clair lost no time in organizing a follow up raid. In July he wrote to General James Wilkinson, a member of Scott's campaign, to tell him that he had been selected to lead the second. The "principal object" of this operation was "the Indian village sometimes known by the name of Kikiah, situated near the junction of the L'Anguile or Eel River with the Wabash" (Smith 1882 (2):227). St. Clair's instructions to Wilkinson included a list of secondary targets he was to attempt to engage regardless of his success at the Miami village on the Eel River:

> you will proceed to such other Indian towns or villages upon the Wabash or in the prairies, to the destruction of which you shall judge your force adequate. Of these there are several higher up the river, and none of them considerable. The first is at the Calumet River, about ten or twelve miles distant from Kikiah, and on the south side; after that is the Mississenewa, ---miles further up. Formerly it contained a considerable population, but at present it is believed is much reduced. Some miles further up are the forks of the Wabash. In going to the Miami village, the north fork [the Little River] is used, and at the junction of those branches there was formerly an inconsiderable village, but whether it is now inhabited or not is not known. From thence it is from twenty-four to thirty-six miles to the Miami carrying place, which is about ten miles over, and you are at the Miami towns [Smith 1882 (2):227-228].

St. Clair's remarks give a good account of the villages along the upper Wabash River, including the first documented reference to a village at the forks of the Wabash. It must indeed have been an inconsiderable village for Gamlin made no mention of it nor do any earlier accounts note any settlement at the forks of the Wabash prior to 1791. It may be that St. Clair's intelligence on the whereabouts of various Indian settlements included locations of wintering camps which were not generally substantial settlements. The same may also be true for the Calumet and Mississewa villages mentioned by St. Clair. Hay often noted

at that Le Petite Gris, Little Turtle and others would regularly come and go between Kekionga and their respective wintering camps (Quaife 1915). These camps must have been within a day or two travel from Kekionga. Nevertheless, the spots mentioned by St. Clair were obviously known to the Miami and other groups and future villages would certainly spring up at these sites.

Wilkinson left Fort Washington on August 1 and according to his account,"feinted boldly at the Miami villages" before turning toward the Eel River (ASP IA (1):133). At the Miami village on the Eel River, Kenapacomaqua, Wilkinson was able to surprise the few warriors in the town, killing six--along with two women and a child-- and taking thirty-four captives, including women and children (ASP IA (1):134). The head chief of the village and many of the women and childern were away from the village and escaped Wilkinson's assault. Wilkinson gave the following physical description of this Miami village, "found this town scattered along Eel river for full three miles, on an uneven, scrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plum hazle, and black jackets" (ASP IA (1):134). Wilkinson then proceeded to Kethtippecanunck where he found that the Indians had returned and cultivated "their corn and pulse" (beans, see Lederer 1985:185) (ASP IA (1):135). These crops were destroyed and Wilkinson moved on down river to the Ouiatanon villages. Here again, he cut the corn the Indians had replanted and razed the villages, without any substantial resistance from the Wabash warriors (ASP IA (1):135).

Wilkinson's feint toward Kekionga probably had the desired effect on the warriors of that quarter for they spent the summer preparing for just such an attack. In June a French Canadian who had been at Miamis Town told Hamtramck at Vincennes that "the Indians of that place had been supplyed with corn and flour from Detroit by the merchants of that place" and "that the Indians had been informed of an expedition to be against them and had sent to the lakes a number of belts to invite the Indians to their support as they were determined to make a stand" (Thornbrough 1957:284). They had likely received more than just flour and corn from Detroit for Wilkinson found at Kenapacomaqua that many of the warriors of that village had gone just before his arrival to a French trader's house near the village where a shipment of ammunition had just arrived from Miamis Town (ASP IA (1):134).

The Miamis' fear of attack was not unfounded. Heartened once more by the armies' recent successes, St. Clair launched what he hoped would be the decisive campaign of the war. The expedition was doomed to failure from the beginning. Major Denny noted in his journal that "preparations for the campaign [were] very backward" and that General Harmar, who by that time had a healthy respect for the Algonquian warriors' fighting abilities, seemed "determined to quit the service" and "positively refused going on the campaign" (1860:356). Denny, now leary of the whole operation, thought about resigning from the army but Harmar disuaded him. He told Denny, "You must...go on the campaign; some will escape, and you may be among the number" (Denny 1860:357). Harmar's words of doom proved to be an eerie foreboding of the actual events of St. Clair's campaign.

Leaving Fort Washington in late September, St. Clair and his army--numbering approximately 2,700 men--marched directly toward Kekionga, erecting forts Hamilton and Jefferson in route (see Figure 11) (Barnhart and Riker 1971:292). On October 8 the army spotted their first Indian and from that point forward there could be no doubt that their advance was being closely watched by the warriors (Sargent 1924:243). Four days later, Colonel Winthrop Sargent reported that reconnoitering parties had found "many Indian tracks...old and new camps of hunters and warriors and had almost surprised some of them" (Sargent 1924:244). Miserable conditions and a growing uneasiness kept morale low and desertions became commonplace. On October 31 about sixty of the militia deserted and as St. Clair was led to believe that they intended to plunder the supply convoys in route to the army, he dispatched Major Hamtramck and the First United States Regiment, one of his best fighting units, to over take them (ASP IA (1):137). The night of November 3, St. Clair made camp at a point he estimated to be fifteen miles from Kekionga.

At Kekionga, the Miami had been preparing to meet St. Clair's army. Warriors from all over the *pays d'en haut* had been gathering at Kekionga since August (Carter 1987:103-102). By late October approximately 1,400 warriors were at the headwaters of the Maumee. Because of his recent successes against the Americans, most notably Harmar's defeat, the Eel River war chief Little Turtle, was chosen to lead the warriors against St. Clair. Little Turtle divided his force into seventy "messes" each consisting of twenty warriors and led by war chiefs of their respective tribes (Carter 1987:105-106). Spreading quickly over the forests between Kekionga and St. Clair's camp, the warriors were in place around the American camp by the evening of November 3.

The attack came about half an hour before sun rise "preceded for about five minutes by the Indian yell" (Sargent 1924:258). "As warm and as unfortunate an action as almost any that has been fought" ensued (ASP IA (1):137). The first wave of warriors struck the militia camped about three hundred yards in advance of the main camp. Having "scarcely time to return a shot", the militia broke ranks and dashed "helter skelter" into the main camp (Denny 1860:369; Sargent 1924:258). The warriors advanced and attacked weak points in the Americans lines, evaporating back to the cover of the forest where ever they met with stiff resistence. This tactic frustrated the Americans, as Denny described, "The battalions...charged several times and forced the savages from their shelter, but they always turned with the battalions and fired upon them back; indeed they seemed not to fear anything we could do. They could skip out of reach of the bayonet and return as they pleased" (1860:370). The fighting continued unabated for more than two hours and Denny wrote that the "ground was literally covered with the dead" (1860:370). The officers were particularly hard hit, leading Denny to rightly conclude that the warriors had been instructed to single them out (1860:370). This stratagem worked well. Dispirited by the loss of their officers, the men began to seek refuge in the center of the camp from the fire raking in upon them from all sides. There, "huddled together in crowded parties... every shot from the enemy took effect" (Sargent 1924:261).

With "more than half the army fallen" and "being cut off from the road", St. Clair determined "to make a retreat, if possible" (ASP IA (1):137). The retreat, described by St. Clair as "a very precipitate one" soon turned into an "ignominious flight"; men and officers divesting themselves of their "Arms, ammuntion and acoutrements" in order to hasten their escape (ASP IA (1):137; Sargent 1924:262). All of the artillery and baggage of the army was left in the camp and Sargent later compiled a detailed list of the considerable booty the Indians gained (1924:265). It was, though, the abandonment of the wounded and dying that most distressed both Denny and Sargent. Sargent wrote that the suffering of those "unfortunate few men" was "sufficient to torture the mind of sensibility" (1924:261). As the army retreated, Sargent heard the musket fire of those unable to make the attempt as they tried in vain to protect themselves (1924:262). The warriors pursued the fleeing army for four or five miles before they quit the chase and returned to plunder the camp. The main body of the army reached Fort Jefferson at seven o'clock that evening, covering twenty-nine miles in a little over nine hours (Sargent 1924:262). Stragglers continued to make their way to the fort for several days following the battle. William Wells, a white captive who had been adopted into the Miami and who fought along side them, later recalled that he had wielded his tomahawk that day until he could no longer raise his arm (Carter 1987:107). The Miami confederacy's victory had been complete.

Over the next two years the confederacy and Americans kept up the sparring while less militant factions on both sides sought an accommodation. In April 1792, two peace emmissaries left Fort Washington for the Maumee. They never made it. Miami warriors discovered the two and killed them without regard for their message (Barnhart and Riker 1971:294; Anson 1970:122). The Indians had become distrustful of all American peace overtures due to past deceits. The Shawnee held that while the Big Knives (Americans) knew "how to speak good" they "would not do good toward the Indians" (in White 1991:459). A second deputation in the persons of Captain Alexander Trueman and Colonel John Hardin rendezvoused at Fort Washington in May (Barnhart and Riker 1971:294). Secretary of War, Henry Knox, instructed Trueman to "repair to the Miami village" with a speech and a belt (ASP IA (1):229). The speech, Knox said, was "designed to effect a peace with the hostile Indians, on the terms of humanity and justice" (ASP IA (1):229). Knox held few illusions about the difficulties Trueman would encounter; "the confederacy of Indians is supposed to be extensive...Your patience, your fortitude, and your knowledge of the human character will all be tested by the objects of your mission" (ASP IA (1):229). Hardin was charged with a similar mission to the Wyandots. Knox, though, underestimated enmity of the warriors. Both Trueman and Hardin were killed within a week of their leaving Fort Washington, neither was able to deliver their offer of peace (Barnhart and Riker 1971:294).

The confederacy was not without accommodationists. The central Wabash tribes had taken the brunt of American military excursions into the Indian country and though they had avoided heavy casualties, the frequent destruction of their villages had caused great uneasiness among these tribes. When, in late summer 1792, General Rufus Putnam sent word to the Wabash tribes that he was holding a council at Vincennes, over six hundred Indians, representing the Eel River Miami, Wea, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Piankashaw, Mascouten and Kaskaskia, joined him there (Barnhart and Riker 1971). The council resulted in a treaty of peace between these tribes and the United States. However, it resolved nothing from either side's

point of view and when it went before United States Senate, it was rejected (Barnhart and Riker 1971:294-295).

Meanwhile on the Maumee, at the Glaize, the Miami and rest of the confederates held a council of their own. Flushed with their recent victory, the belligerents reconfirmed their conmittment to the Ohio River boundary between the United States and the Indian country, despite an appeal from Joseph Brant, the spokesman for the Six Nation Iroquois, to compromise with the Americans (Barnhart and Riker 1971:296). Alexander McKee, representing the British crown, urged the confederates to hold out for the Ohio River boundary and promised more aid, in the way of arms, ammunition and provisions, if further hostilies resulted. McKee later denied that he had extended this offer (Barnhart and Riker 1971:298n). Though the Ohio River boundary was to be a non-negotiable item, the confederates agreed to meet the Americans in council at Sandusky the following summer (Barnhart and Riker 1971:296). The American government agreed to the council, though they were not informed of the Ohio River boundary stipulation--Joseph Brant apparently neglected to relay that bit of information in his report to American officals (Barnhart and Riker 1971:296). American commissioners, Beverley Rudolph, Timothy Pickering and Benjamin Lincoln, set out for Sandusky in late April, 1793.

Proceeding first to Niagara, the American commissioners met with British officals, who detained the Americans while the Indians on the Maumee met once more to unify their position. Deputations went back and forth from both sides and the commissioners finally made it to the mouth of the Detroit River in July, where they were once more detained. Again proposals and counterproposals were exchanged until it became clear that an impassed had been reached; the confederates would not compromise the Ohio River boundary and the American commissioners were not prepared to concede it (Barnhart and Riker 1971:296-298). It was the Miami and Shawnee, according to Joseph Brant, who remained the most uncompromising (Anson 1970:124n). On August 21, the commissioners wrote Secrectary of War Knox that the "Indians have refused peace" and Knox, in turn, ordered General Anthony Wayne to prepare to once more march against the western Indians (ASP IA (1):359; Barnhart and Riker 1971:298).

Anthony Wayne had replaced the resigned St. Clair as commander in chief of the United States army. All during the abortative treaty attempts, Wayne had been mobilizing, drilling and provisioning his army. The confederates were aware of Wayne's activities and complained to the treaty commissioners that "with these preparations for war in their neighborhood"--Wayne had already cut a military road from Fort Washington to six miles beyond Fort Jefferson--"their minds cannot rest easy" (ASP IA (1):351). In October he advanced his camp to that spot, which he fortified--Fort Greenville--and dug in for the winter. During the winter Wayne also employed his men in the construction of Fort Recovery, at the site of St. Clair's defeat (Barnhart and Riker 1971:300).

Wayne's openly aggressive advance into the Ohio country alarmed not only the Indians nations but also the British, who still balked at relinquishing this territory. In Feburary, 1794 Lord Dorchester, Sir Guy Carleton, Governor-General of Lower Canada, told an assembled crowd that no boundary between Great Britain and the United States existed in the Indian country and that he expected war between the two nations before the close of the year. Pacane, who had apparently returned to his village at Kekionga, may have led the Miami deputation to Dorchester's Quebec meeting (Carter 1987:127-128). Carter (1987:128) asserts that it was on this trip that Elizabeth Posthuma Gwillim Simcoe, wife of lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, Colonel John Graves Simcoe, sketched a portrait of Pacane (Figure 13). If Dorchester's fiery words invigorated the Indian's confidence in the British, his subsequent actions galvanized their resolve to resist the Americans. Governor Simcoe was ordered to construct a fort, Fort Miamis, on the Maumee at the Roch de Bout. It was finished in July 1794 and garrisoned with British troops from Detroit (Barnhart and Riker 1971:299).

Figure 13. Sketch of Pecane, ca. 1796 (Archives of Ontario).

By that time the summer offensives were already underway. On June 30, the confederated tribes, again under the leadership of Little Turtle, assaulted Fort Recovery. Wayne wrote that an escort of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons were "attacked, by a very numerous body of Indians under the walls of fort Recovery" (ASP IA (1):487). The Americans lost twenty-two men before reaching the safety of the fort. The direct assault on the fort was replused and the warriors faded back into the forest. The warriors took up the attack the next morning but the American artillery proved to be too much and a general retreat ensued (ASP IA (1):487-488; Carter 1987:131-132).

Wayne continued to press deeper into the heart of Indian territory. From Fort Recovery, Wayne proceeded to the St. Mary's River where he paused only long enough to construct Fort Adams. Wayne next moved his forces to the mouth of the Auglaize River, near the abondoned remains of several Shawnee villages. Here again, Wayne hastily threw up a fortification, aptly named Fort Defiance (Anson 1970:127; Barnhart and Riker 1971:300; Carter 1987:133). On August 15 Wayne's army marched from Fort Defiance toward the Maumee and the British fort at the rapids. Two days earlier, Wayne had sent a "last overture of peace" to the confederates, asking them to meet with him "in order to settle the preliminaries of a lasting peace" (ASP IA (1):490). The Indians met in council to discuss Wayne's offer. In council Little Turtle, the confederacy's most able war leader, apparently foresaw disaster for the warriors and, unconvinced of British support, advocated negociating with Wayne. He was over ruled and though he would still lead his Miami warriors in the coming battle, he abdicated his overall command. The Shawnee war chief Blue Jacket would command in his stead (Anson 1970:128-129; Carter 1987:134).

The warriors took up positions in the intertwined morass of fallen trees and brush--the result of a tornado--and waited for Wayne to advance. On the morning of August 20, Wayne's army arrived at the natural breastworks. As in earlier encounters, the initial shock of the warrior's attack threw Wayne's

advanced columns into confusion and they rapidly fell back. However, Wayne's incessant drilling had instilled some measure of discipline in the troops and "this defect (the retreat) was soon remedied and the troops stood with shouldered arms" (Smith 1952:290). The troops rallied, a charge was ordered and an unnamed chronicler wrote that "the charge succeeded as directed, the enemy making little or no resistence, but fell back from ravine to ravine loading & firing at a considerable distance as we advanced" (Smith 1952:292). The engagement lasted only an hour. Wayne summed up his victory in his report to Knox:

> This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the guns of the British garrison...The loss of the enemy was more than double to that of the Federal army. The woods are strewn for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians, and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets...
>
> We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami [Maumee], in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of that garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devestation and conflageration, among which were the houses, stores, and property, of Colonel McKee, the British Indian agent, and the principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages [ASP IA (1):491].

Wayne's taunting of the British garrison had brought the two countries to the brink of war. But both commanders had been instructed to avoid direct conflict if at all possible. This had necessarily forced Major William Campbell, the British commander at Fort Miamis, to turn away the retreating warriors when they sought refuge in the fort; Little Turtle's apprehensions had not been unfounded.

Wayne marched his army back to Fort Defiance where after strengthening that fort he planned to "proceed to the Miami villages, in order to accomplish the object of the campaign" (ASP IA (1):491). Accordingly, he set set out for Kekionga and arrived there on September 17. Like many Anglo-American visitors, Wayne was impressed by the extensive cornfields and Indian settlements at the headwaters of the Maumee. He was also keenly aware of the strategic importance of Maumee-Wabash waterway and the portage between those two rivers. In addition to the military post built on the east bank of the St. Mary's River, Wayne proposed to "build a block house at the landing place, on the *Wabash*, eight miles southwest of the post at the Miami villages" which "would give us procession of all the portages between the heads of the navigable waters of the Gulfs of Mexico and St. Lawrence, and serve as a barrier between the different tribes of Indians, settled along the margins of the rivers emptying into the creek" (ASP IA (1):527). The presence of the fort and the proposed block house in the heart of the Miami settlements at the headwaters of the Maumee would lead to the diaspora of the Miami from Kekionga and eventually to the establishment of the Miami settlement at the forks of the Wabash.

Major Hamtramck was placed in command of the fort--which he christened Fort Wayne--constructed on the St. Mary's and Wayne returned with most of the troops to Fort Greenville (Anson 1970:133; Carter 1987:137). The confederated tribes were in disarray following Fallen Timbers and though many still remained belligerent, as early as November some groups were approaching Wayne at Greenville for peace (ASP IA (1):527). Among those waivering were most of the Miami chiefs including Little Turtle and Pacane. They, along with Blue Jacket and Buckongahelas, a Delaware chief, reportedly traveled to Detroit during the winter of 1794-1795 to complain of the lack of supplies being sent to the Indians and probably to assess British intentions for future assistance (Anson 1970:133). Hamtramck wrote in December that he thought the "Shawanese, Delawares, and Miamies remain under the influence of McKee" (Hamtramck 1843:389).

Upon their return to Kekionga, "two war-chiefs" informed Hamtramck that "their nation will be here (Fort Wayne) in a few days, from whence they will proceed to Greenville" (Hamtramck 1843:389). The Miami were ready to settle with the Americans. Richardville did go on to Greenville and related to

Wayne the Miamis' desire for peace. Upon his return, Richardville kept his promise to Hamtramck to "go on the Salamanic (Salamonie River), on the head of the Wabash, and there make a village" (Hamtramck 1843:390). Lieutenant John Wade was sent to scout the Wabash from the head of the portage to Vincennes. Any pertinant intelligence he was to forward to Wayne for the impending treaty negociations (Smith 1954:278). To this end, Wade kept a journal of his return trip up the Wabash to the forks and on to Fort Wayne, noting, among other information, the Indians and Indian villages he encountered (Smith 1954). On May 26 he recorded:

> a Short distance above the Massissinouia [Mississnewa River] arrived at a village of Miami Indians...this village consisted of 9 houses situate immediately on the Bank of the river, on very bad ground, but considered only as a temporary establishment...Above this place one mile I halted and Continuing a few minutes was Joined by Monsieur Richardville with Nine Canoes on his way to establish a village at the Massissinouai- a few families lived at this place, who, together with those who arrived with Richardville supplied me with Turkeys and venison and tho exceeding 100 in number never requested one article from me...[Smith 1954:289].

It is unclear if Richardville's move from Kekionga represented a split between he and Pacane. Pacane may have remained only the leader of his own band following his return to Kekionga. Carter, though, asserts that Pacane, still "head chief" of the Miami, sent Richardville in his place to the treaty proceedings at Greenville after Wayne rejected his offer to hold the proceedings at Kekionga (1987:146).

Wayne set the date for a general peace council as June 15, 1795. The Indians, though, would not be rushed and the various tribes were not fully assembled until July 15 (Barnhart and Riker 1971:303-304). By August 3, the Treaty of Greenville had been concluded and the Indian confederacy was dissolved. Little Turtle emerged as a capable statesman, deftly and ably representing the various Miami groups as well as the Kickapoo and Kaskaskia. In the end, though, the Americans still held the upper hand. The chiefs acquiesced to the American boundary between the United States and Indian held lands, which basically ceded two thirds of southeast Ohio to the U.S. Additionally, the Indians gave up small tracts of land at key points along the river routes of the Indian country, including a two mile square tract at the Maumee-Wabash portage (Anson 1970:133-137; Barnhart and Riker 1971:303-305; Carter 1987:145-153; see also ASP IA (1):562-582). The Miami chiefs who signed the treaty were Little Turtle, Le Petite Gris, Richardville, Cochkepoghtoh, The Soldier, White Loon, Little Beaver, Little Fox and Francis (Anson 1970:136). Pacane, though evidently not hostile to the United States, did not attend nor sign the treaty.

Period IV (1795-1814)

While many of the younger warriors remained recalcitrant, the elder Miami chiefs, Le Petit Gris, Pacane and especially Little Turtle resolved to maintain peaceful relations with the Americans (Anson 1970:139). Little Turtle was by this time convinced that the adoption of some aspects of Anglo-American culture was necessary to insure the survival of the Miami people. In 1796 and again in the winter of 1797-1798 Little Turtle traveled to the American capital at Philadelphia. On the second trip he and William Wells met on several occaisions with the French traveler and author Constantin F. S. Volney. Wells was by that time in the employ of the United States, having left the Miami to rejoin white society. He had served as a spy and scout for Wayne on the Greenville campaign (Anson 1970:126). In spite of his defection, Wells and Little Turtle remained friends and Wells served as an interpreter on the chief's visits to Philadelphia.

Little Turtle was obviously struck by the numbers and magnitude of the American settlements of the East and these trips only served to confirm his conviction that the Miami must assimilate to some degree. Pensively staring out a window at the crowded market street below, he told Volney:

> In observing this multitude...two things surprise me: the great number of the white people, and the difference in their faces...your increase is quite inconceivable. More than two lives, supposing eighty years to

> each, have not gone by since the whites first set foot among us, yet already they swarm like flies: while we, who have been here nobody knows how long, are still as thin as deer...They [the whites] spread like oil on a blanket; we melt like snow before the sun. If things do not greatly change, the red men will disappear very shortly [Volney 1968:384-385].

Those kinds of change, Little Turtle acknowledged, would not be quick or easy; "To learn what you (whites) do would ask much time, be very difficult, and uncertain of success; and meanwhile old age hurries on" (Volney 1968:376).

Changes, though, were coming for the Miami and the other native inhabitants of the Maumee-Wabash country. In 1800 the Northwest Territory was dividied, placing the headwaters of the Maumee and most of the Wabash within the bounds of the newly created Indiana Territory. William Henry Harrison, a veteran of Fallen Timbers, where he served as Wayne's aide-de-camp, was appointed the Governor of the new territory. His aggressive land policies would lead eventually to further hostilities between the Americans and Indians (Barnhart and Riker 1971:311-315). Harrison's land policies, authorized by the American government, were contradictory to the seemingly benevolent "civilization" and trading policies enacted by the Jefferson administration.

Thomas Jefferson was elected President in 1801. He was a strict adherent of the Indian civilization programs then popular among the philanthropic minded segment of American society (see Woehrmann 1971:105-141). With the revitalization of the government Indian factory system, created in 1796 as a method to regulate the fur trade and to keep unscrupulous traders and liquor out of the Indian country by establishing government trading houses among the tribes, Jefferson thought he had found a way to marry his civilization programs with the push for more land cessions (see Woehrmann 1971:83-104 and Thornbrough 1961). Jefferson summed up his overall Indian policy in an 1803 letter to Harrison:

> this letter being unofficial, and private, I may with safety give you a more extensive view of our policy respecting the Indians...[The] system is to live in perpetual peace with the Indians, to cultivate an affectionate attachment from them, by every thing just and liberal which we can [offer?] them within the bounds of reason, and by giving them effectual protection against wrongs from our own people. The decrease of game rendering their subsistence by hunting insufficient, we wish to draw them to agriculture, to spinning and weaving...When they withdraw themselves to the culture of a small piece of land, they will perceive how useless to them are their extensive forests, and will be willing to pare them off from time to time in exchange for necessaries for their farms & families. To promote this disposition to exchange lands which they have to spare and we want for necessaries, which we have to spare and they want, we shall push our trading houses, and be glad to see the good and influential individuals among them run in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands...As to their fear, we presume that our strength and their weakness is now so visible that they must see we have only to shut our hand to crush them...Should any tribe be fool-hardy enough to take up the hatchet at any time, the siezing the whole country of that tribe and driving them across the Missisipi, as the only condition of peace, would be an example to others, and a furtherance of our final consolidation [Esarey 1922 (1):70-71].

Jefferson must have delighted in Little Turtle's visit to the nations new capital, Washington D.C., during the winter of 1801-1802, for the Miami chief petitioned the President to establish a government factory at Fort Wayne and to provide ploughs and other farming equipment to any Indians of that quarter who wanted them (Thornbrough 1961:13). In January 1802 the Fort Wayne Indian Agency was created,

with William Well's serving as the assistant agent for Indian affairs in Indiana Territory. Part of his duties included the disbursement of "useful domestic animals and implements of husbandry" (in Thornbrough 1961:11). Later that same year the Fort Wayne Indian Factory was authorized. John Johnston was named agent or factor at that place (Thornbrough 1961:11).

Meanwhile on the lower Wabash, at Vincennes, Harrison was inaugurating the corresponding land aquisition facet of the Jeffersonian Indian policy. In late summer 1802 Harrison called to council the Piankashaw, Wea, Eel River Miami, Kickapoo, Potawatomi and Kaskaskia (Esarey 1922 (1):56-57). The presiding chiefs chose Little Turtle and Richardville of the Miami and Topinebee and Winamac of the Potawatomi to represent their combined interests at the council (Esarey 1922 (1):56). After much negociating, these chiefs tentatively agreed to a cession of land surrounding Vincennes, the Vincennes Tract (see Barnhart and Riker 1971:328). Confirmation of the cession was to be made at a treaty council scheduled to be held the following year at Fort Wayne.

In the spring Harrison moved up the Wabash with a small party of senior officals and an armed escort (Barnhart and Riker 1971:338). Runners were sent to all of the Indian nations that had been at the Vincennes council and after securing supplies for the treaty proceedings at Detroit, Harrison made his way to Fort Wayne. Many of the Miami, however, were apparently not pleased with what had taken place at Vincennes and did not consider Little Turtle their spokesman. In protest, the great majority of the Miami delayed going to Fort Wayne even though their yearly annuities--established at the Treaty of Greenville--were being distributed in conjunction with the treaty negociations. The protest was apparently led by Hibou (Hibon), also known as the Owl or Long Beard. Hibou had been a village chief and kinsman of Pacane at Kekionga and like Pacane had briefly moved with his band west of the Mississippi in the 1790s (see Berthrong 1974:159-160). By 1803 he had, along with approximately two-thirds of the Miami, moved to the Miami villages on the Mississinewa. Little Turtle and the Eel River chiefs still maintained their villages on that river but they did not constitute a very large percentage of the tribe (see Esarey 1922 (1): 76, 82, 142 and 148).

When Harrison arrived at Fort Wayne only Little Turtle and the Potawatomi were present and ready to confirm the cession (Woehrmann 1971:173). Harrison wrote that "the Owl or Long Beard had with very considerable address prevented the great body of the Miamis from attending" and after "waiting for them a considerable time" he had to content himself "with the signatures of Richardville, the Sachem of the Nation, and the Turtle" (Esarey 1922 (1):82). They signed the treaty "On the behalf of themselves, Eel Rivers, Weas, Piankashaws and Kaskaskias, whom they represent" (Kappler 1972:65). Harrison overestimated the influence of Richardville, who was likely still a minor chief at Mississinewa and subordinate to both Hibou and Pacane (Esarey 1922 (1):76-77). It remains unclear as to just whose interests he was representing (Anson 1970:146). The treaty was concluded on June 7, 1803. Just two days later Hibou and Pacane, at the head of "a number of minor Chiefs and 100 or 150 Warriors" arrived at Fort Wayne just as Harrison was preparing to depart (Esarey 1922 (1):82). Harrison was anxious to have the full backing of all the Miami and so scrambled to convene a second council. Again, the Miami would not be rushed into concessions until all ramifications had been duly considered. At the appointed time, Harrison wrote that "neither the Miamis nor the Delawares appeared" (Esarey 1922 (1):82). The two groups were meeting separately to settle the question of title to the lands of the White River upon which the Delaware had their villages. When the Delaware finally did show up, they told Harrison that "the Miami Chiefs had that morning with the concent of all their warriors acknowledged their right to the lands between the White River and the Ohio" (Esarey 1922 (1):82). The tardy Miami then made their appearance. Harrison rebuked them for "their improper and disrespectful conduct" before taking his leave and turning over the conclusion of the council to William Wells (Esarey 1922 (1):82-83). The question of Delaware title to the White River lands was, however, not a dead issue. It remained a point of contention to all parties over the next two years.

For his part, Hibou--probably representing all of the Mississinewa chiefs--tried to get back into the good graces of the Americans. The month following the Fort Wayne treaty, he traveled to Vincennes where he "made the most solemn protestations of his friendship to the United States" (in Berthrong 1974:187). Harrison was pleased because he felt that Hibou "had it in his power to thwart or obstruct any of the designs of the government, relating to the Indians of that quarter" (in Berthrong 1974:187). Harrison had reached the conclusion that "Nine tenths of that Tribe (the Miami) who acknowledge Richardville and Peccan for

their chiefs...are really governed by an artful fellow called the Owl" (Esarey 1922 (1):76-77). Here again, Harrison may not have fully understood the complexities of Miami politics and social organization.

For Little Turtle the Fort Wayne treaty was an opportunity to reaffirm his committment to honoring the Treaty of Greenville. By maintaining peaceful relations with the Americans he hoped to gain time to further his own agenda of assimilation. During his 1801 visit to the east, Little Turtle and Wells had paid a visit to the Quakers at Baltimore, laying the foundation for further interaction between the two groups (Carter 1987:163). In 1803, Wells returned to Baltimore where the Quakers presented him with some agricultural tools to be distributed as presents to the Miami (Walker 1979:366n). Little Turtle responded favorably to the Quaker's overtures and in September had a letter drafted to them:

> Brothers & Friends of our hearts
>
> We have receiv'd your speech from our friend wells with the implements of husbandry that you were so kind as to send us to his care all in good order...
>
> Brothers, We will try to use the Articles you have sent us and if we should want more we will let you know it.
>
> Brothers, We are sorry to say that the minds of our people are not so much inclined towards the cultivation of the earth as we could wish them...
>
> Brothers, We hope the Great Spirit will permit some of you to come and see us when you will be able to know whether you can do any thing for us or not [Walker 1979:366].

The letter was signed--their mark-- by Little Turtle and Five Medals, a Potawatomi chief of the St. Joseph River region.

The Quakers lost little time in responding to the Indians request for additional assistance and in Feburary 1804 a delegation of Friends, Gerard T. Hopkins, George Ellicott and Philip Dennis, left Baltimore, arriving at Fort Wayne on March 30 (Walker 1979:378). Hopkins' journal of the trip provides insight into Miami life at the opening of the 19th century. Upon arriving at Fort Wayne, Hopkins noted that the army had "about 4 Miles square of Cleared land... much of it was formerly cleared by the Miami Indians. They having had a large town here" (Walker 1979:380). The settlements at Kekionga had apparently been completely abandoned following the arrival of the Americans.

Little Turtle and and Five Medals met with the Quakers on April 2 at which time they proposed to convene a general council where they planned to present the purpose of their visit to "their Old men their young men their women and their children" (Walker 1979:385). The two Algonquians "with countenances indicative of much gravity" indicated their approval of the Quakers mission, however, Five Medals pointed out that "the Indians do business not as the white_____people do. We convene our Chiefs and things of importance are considered by them" and even though in this instance they were willing to concede to the Quakers' wishes, he told them that such a gathering would take time for "Our men are out hunting and our women and children are now at work at their sugar Camps" (Walker 1979:386). After finally agreeing to meet again in eight days, the meeting adjourned and Little Turtle and Five Medals set out to gather their people.

On the appointed day Hopkins and company arrived at the house of Willam Wells, where the meeting was to take place. The Miami were represented by Le Gris, "a Village Chief of Great distinction" and Little Turtle. The three primary Mississinewa chiefs, Hibou, Pacane and Richardville, did not attend. Whether their absence was due to opposition to Little Turtle and his policies or simply because their hunting camps were too far distant cannot be determined. As the Indians gathered, Hopkins noted the particular fashion in which they positioned themselves:

> After we had taken each other by the hand the Chiefs took their seats by the side of each other Their principal people next seated themselves according to rank or distinction which they held--After them their young men in circular order seat after seat and lastly the women who occupied

> seats separate from ther Men being placed near the Centre of the room [Walker 1979:388].

The literal position of women within Algonquian society, figuratively represented by the position of the women at the council, was a key issue of the Quaker's proposal to instruct the Miami and Potawatomi in the ways of Anglo-American cultivation:

> Brothers,
>
> There is one thing more which we wish to add--your brothers the white people in order to get their land cultivated find it necessary that their young men should be employed in it and not their women. Women are less then men They are not as strong as men. They are not as able to endure fatigue and toil as men.
>
> It is the business of our women to be employed in our houses, to keep them clean to sew--knit--spin--and weave to dress food for themselves and families to make clothes for the men and the rest of their families to keep the clothing of their families clean and to take care of their children [Walker 1979:392].

This passage goes to the heart of the vehement opposition toward the adoption of Anglo-American agricultural method exhibited by many young male Algonquians. The switch to Anglo-American farming techniques would involve not only a change in subsistance patterns, but also a fundamental restructuring of Algonquian social structure. Much of the status and recognition accorded to Algonquian young men came from just that aspect of the Algonquian subsistence pattern the Quakers hoped to eliminate, hunting. Not only that, the activity proposed to replace hunting-- namely farming--was traditionally the work of women and derided as work not suitable for men.

In his reply to the Quakers, Little Turtle was careful to point out that although the majority of the Indians present at the council concurred with the Quaker's plan, "it would not be proper for us to undertake to give a pointed Answer to your Talk" before consulting with those chiefs not present (Walker 1979:394). He further warned the Quakers to tell their elders that while they were obliged to them for their assistance in "changing our present mode of living...it is a work which cannot be done immediately...we are that way disposed and we hope it will take place Gradually" (Walker 1979:395).

As to the Quaker proposition that that one of them, Phillip Dennis, remain at least through the spring to plant a few crops and to provide hands on instruction in the use of "the plough, the hoe, the Axe and other implements of Husbandry", the Indians were enthusiastic. Little Turtle and Five Medals agreed that to head off any jealousies that might arise from having Dennis establish his experimental farm at one or the other's village, it would be placed near the forks of the Wabash. On April 12, the Quaker delegation, accompanied by Wells and a Wea guide named Massanonga (Clear Sky) left Fort Wayne to examine the spot the Indians had chosen for Dennis to set up his farm:

> After riding eight miles, we came to the place called the Portage, on the Little river, a navigable water of the Wabash. Then down the margin of the river, leaving it to our left. At the end of the four miles, crossed Sandy Creek, another navigable water of the Wabash; then proceeded through the woods, and at the end of thirteen miles further came again to Little river at a place called the Saddle. This name is dervived from a large rock in the bed of the river in the shape of a saddle. From the Saddle we proceeded six miles along the margin of the river to its junction with the Wabash [McCord 1970:51].

Proceeding another seven miles down river from the forks, the party came to the site of an abandoned Delaware village, where about twenty-five acres of land was already cleared. This was to be the site of the Quaker's farm (Walker 1979:396-397). Hopkins described the setting and the surrounding Indian villages:

> About half a mile below this place a handsome creek falls into the River from the North which we traced for a considerable distance and are convinced that it affords a good Mill seat...
>
> At Mississinway a large Indian Town of the Miamis situated about 30 Miles from this place on the wabash stone coal is found... There are no Indians between this and Mississinway. Phillip Dennis's nearest neighbours will be at the little Turtles Town 18 miles distant [Walker 1979:397].

From this and Hopkins' earlier account of their arrival at the forks, it is abundantly apparent that no Miami settlement existed at the forks in 1804.

As spring rolled around Dennis set about operating his farm. In June he wrote a letter to the Quakers in Baltimore; he had enclosed about 16 to 20 acres with a fence "8 rails high" and had planted about eight acres of corn (Baltimore Yearly Meeting 1804:15). Two months later, he reported that "his corn made an excellent appearance, having 2 & 3 ears on a stalk" (Baltimore Yearly Meeting 1804:16). He was visited by fifty-five Eel River Miami who told him that "his Corn was equal to any they had ever seen on the Wabash" (Baltimore Yearly Meeting 1804:16). Their favorable impressions, however, did not translate into a desire to be instructed by Dennis and he reported that although "a number of Indians had been encamped near him for the purpose of hunting...only one family had settled permanently at His Station..." (Baltimore Yearly Meeting 1804:16). This family, consisting of seven adults, was "very industrious" and "attended to his (Dennis') directions. Dennis, though homesick for his wife and family back in Maryland, found the Indians friendly and "some of them very sociable" (Baltimore Yearly Meeting 1804:16). This first step toward an assimilation program among the Miami and Potawatomi was not the overwhelming success story that the Quakers might have wished, but there were encouraging signs. Echoing Little Turtle's admonitions, Samuel, an Eel River Miami village chief, told Dennis not to expect "great progress immediately"; that this was a chance to "lay a foundation for their children" (Baltimore Yearly Meeting 1804:16).

Unfortunately for Dennis and the Quakers, Harrison's land grabbing policies continued unabated, finally convincing even Little Turtle that the Americans were interested only in Indian lands and not the Indians' welfare. As Dennis' crops ripened in his fields along the Wabash, Harrison was at Vincennes negociating with the Delaware and the Piankashaw. By two separate treaties the Delaware and the Piankashaw relinquished to the United States the their lands between the Ohio and Wabash rivers, land south of the Vincennes Tract and the road leading to Clarksville (Barnhart and and Riker 1971:339). Little Turtle and the Miami were incensed, claiming that the Delaware had no right to sell the lands they lived or hunted on, those privileges being granted to them by the Miami. In a letter to the Secretary of War, Harrison claimed that only Little Turtle, Wells and the Miami under their influence had taken offence at the Delaware treaty (Esarey 1922 (1):76-84).

By the summer of 1805, though, the opposition to the treaty had become so great that Harrison was forced to call a general council to address the matter, a clear indication that the 1803 treaty at Fort Wayne had not definitely settled this touchy issue. Harrison sent Indiana Territorial Secretary, General John Gibson and Colonel Francis Vigo up the Wabash to Fort Wayne to hold a preliminary council and to invite the chiefs to meet with Harrison at Vincennes later that summer. Gibson and Vigo stopped first at the Eel River village where they found all the chiefs except for Sam (Samuel or Metausauner) too drunk to meet with them. Samuel told them that the chiefs were planning to go to Fort Wayne in few days and that they would meet with the Americans at that time (Esarey 1922 (1):142).

From the Eel River, Gibson and Vigo proceeded to Mississinewa:

> At this place we saw the Pakaun and Hibou or the Owl, two of the Chiefs of the Miamies and heads of this Village. The latter of whom was very sick. We informed them we were sent by you [Harrison] and wished to speak to them, they informed us that one of their Chiefs Pussewa or Richardville was gone to Fort Wayne, and as they intended going to that place in a few days they would at that place hear what we had to say to them [Esarey 1922(1):142].

At Fort Wayne, Gibson and Vigo held a council with the Delaware, Eel River Miami and the Miami of the Mississinewa, at which time they invited the principal chiefs of each nation to Vincennes to meet with Harrison. Harrison, they said, would "remove all the uneasiness from your minds" (Esarey 1922 (1):138). The Delaware were eager to return to Vincennes to have matter resolved. Little Turtle remained unconvinced. He told the Americans that the Miami "have reason to complain", that they would not be hurried into a meeting with Harrison and that they needed "time to deliberate on the subject" (Esarey 1922 (1):139). Richardville was a little less beligerent. He said that he would like to meet with Harrison, but that other business required that he first go to Detroit (Esarey 1922 (1):139, 144). Pacane did not speak in council, rather, he approached Gibson and Vigo as they left the council house. He told the Americans that "he did not want to deliberate. He wanted to go on to Vincennes now and would go at any time" (Esarey 1922 (1):139). Little Turtle, he said, "had no right to say the Indians wanted time to think on it, that was not the case" (Esarey 1922 (1):139). Obviously, there was some merit to Harrison's assertions that Little Turtle and Wells were behind much of the opposition to the Delaware treaty. His willingness to renegotiate the issue of Delaware ownership of the ceded lands, however, indicates that he was not completely convinced of the propriety of the 1804 treaty (see Carter 1987:172-175).

By August the Delaware, Eel River Miami, Miami proper and Potawatomi had gathered at Vincennes. After several days of intense negotiations, the Delawares conceded that they did not hold title to the lands upon which they lived and hunted. The Miami--Eel River, Mississinewa and Wea--were recognized as the sole proprietors of "all the country on the Wabash and its waters, above the Vincennes tract, and which had not been ceded to the United States (Kappler 1972:81). In return, the United States retained possession of the land ceded by the Delaware. For an increase in their annuities,which they felt should have been allotted them by the Delaware cession, the Miami relinquished to the United States the remainder of their hunting grounds on the Ohio River from the Falls to the Kentucky River (Kappler 1972:80-81; Carter 1987:175-176; Esarey 1922 (1):162-163). At the opening of the treaty proceedings, Harrison had met privately with Little Turtle and Wells and he reported to the Secretary of War that "a general amnesty" existed between the three men (Esarey 1922 (1):161). Pacane, contrary to his pledge to Gibson and Vigo at Fort Wayne, did not attend the Grouseland Treaty, as the the 1805 treaty held at Harrison's Grouseland estate became known. Richardville apparently represented his uncle's interests (Kappler 1972:81).

Harrison's optimism, following the Grouseland Treaty and a subsequent treaty with the Piankashaw in December (Kappler 1972:89-90), was to be short-lived. Desperation was mounting among some tribes of Ohio and the Indiana Territory. White settlements continued to encroach upon Indian hunting grounds driving away already scarce game. Treaties surrendering ever-increasing amounts of land to the United States could only serve to worsen the situation. The Shawnee had long been at the forefront of opposition to American expansionism. In 1805 two brothers of this long suffering tribe would emerge as leaders of a new attempt to confederate the Indians (see Edmunds 1983 and Edmunds 1984 for detailed accounts of the Prophet and Tecumseh). Unlike earlier confederacies, would intially be led not by a warrior, but by a religious prophet. In 1805 Lalawethika, a belligerent drunk until this point in his life, fell into a seizure from which he awoke claiming to have visited the spirit world (Edmunds 1983:28-34). Though this and ensuing visions, Tenskatawa (the Open Door) or the Prophet, as he became known, was instructed as to the path the Great Spirit wished his Indian children to follow (Edmunds 1983:34-41). Though their influence was never as widespread among the Miami as other Algonquian tribes, their movements and actions would have profound consequences for the Miami over the next decade.

By 1806 the Prophet had found adherents among many groups including the Delaware living along the White River. Upon hearing that this revitalization movement had led to accusations of witchcraft and burnings, Harrison issued a warning to the Delaware; "The dark, crooked and thorny one (road) which you are now pursuing will certainly lead to endless woe and misery. But who is this pretended prophet who dares to speak in the name of the Great Creator?...No longer be imposed upon by the arts of an imposter. Drive him from your town, and let peace and harmony once more prevail...(Esarey 1922 (1):184-185). Over the course of the next several years Harrison would become all too familiar with this new, self-proclaimed savior of the Indian people and his warrior/diplomat brother.

As the summer of 1807 rolled around, an atmosphere of uneasiness once more settled over the Wabash and Ohio valleys. Miami warriors, perhaps emboldened by Tenskatawa's prophecies of impending doom for all Americans, reportedly attacked and captured a boat on the Ohio River. Two of the crew were

killed and two women and four children were made captives (Esarey 1922 (1):221-222). The rash actions of these few young warriors did not reflect the sentiments of the majority of the Miami. Harrison informed the Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn that as a result of several councils he had recently held with the Indians, he was convinced of the "peaceable disposition" of the Miami--including the Piankashaw, Wea and Eel River groups--as well as the Delaware, Kickapoo and most of the Shawnee (Esarey 1922 (1):229). Harrison was equally convinced that those Indians unfriendly to the United States were under British influence (Esarey 1922 (1):243). Wells was even more specific in his charges of British intrigue, he wrote Harrison that "the prophet keeps up a communication with the British at Malden...It is my opinion that the British are at the bottom of all this Business" (Esarey 1922 (1):242). Allen, in a recent study of British Indian policy (1774-1815), asserts that such accusations were "mere paranoia" in the summer of 1807 (1993:110). It was not until the following year, July 1808, that "the Prophet's brother...a shrewd and intelligent man" appeared at a British council at Amherstburg (in Allen 1993:113). Tecumseh remained guarded in his private dealings with the British Indian agents, reminding them several times of the past British betrayal at Fallen Timbers (Horsman 1964:172). He made it clear, though, that he and his brother and their followers intended to oppose further American exspansion. If their British father, the King, was in earnest about assisting the Indians, Tecumseh promised to "hold fast by him" (in Allen 1993:114). Tecumseh would keep his word.

Certainly the Miami in 1807 were not the tools of British plots, for they were embroiled internal conflicts over how best to cope with the changes swirling around them. The Americans could not seem to be trusted and the Prophet's new teachings seemed to offer a chance to hold their ground against the rising tide of American expansion. During the summer the Mississinewa chiefs-- Richardville, Hibou and Pacane--attended a council of anti-American chiefs at the Kickapoo towns on the Wabash (Esarey 1922 (1):239-243). The Mississinewa chiefs had invited the Delaware to attend this council. The runner sent from Mississinewa to the Delaware towns on the White River was instructed "to tell them (the Delawares) that this Business must be kept a secret from the Turtle, the White Loon, 5 Medals and Charley as they weare Big Knives--and ought not to know anything about the affairs of the Indians" (Esarey 1922 (1):240-241). The outcome of the council remains unknown. Harrison was undisturbed at the news of the council, still holding that the United States could rely on the fidelity of the Miami (Esarey 1922 (1):248).

The Miami were drawn further into the imbroglio between Harrison and the Prophet when early in 1808 Wells learned that the Prophet was planning to move his headquarters from Greenville, Ohio. Wells immediately relayed this intelligence to Dearborn in Washington:

> Sir: The Shawnee Prophet is about to move to the Wabash 120 miles Southwest of theis place [Fort Wayne] and has sent for the sax-foxes-Iahowes-Winnebagoes & Malomenees to meet him at that place. Should he effect this, there is no doubt but He will put the tomahawk in their Hands and derect them to strike the white people...[in Carter 1987:189].

This news also alarmed the Miami, especially Little Turtle and the pro-American chiefs. Given that the entire tribe had but recently won the hard fought struggle to be recognized as the sole proprietors of the Wabash, it is not surprising that even those chiefs who were sympathetic to the Prophet's cause also opposed this move. The Miami were by that time unwilling to grant any group access to their lands, let alone a group as controversial as the Prophet and his followers. In April Little Turtle, apparently with the backing of all the Miami chiefs, set out to intercept the Prophet already on his way to the Wabash. He caught up to the Shawnee holy man on the Mississinewa. Wells reported on the meeting to Secrectary Dearborn:

> The Little Turtle has just had a meeting with the Prophet on the Massacemwey 60 miles southwest of Fort Wayne. The Turtle and other [Miami] chiefs forbid him to move from Greenville to the lower Wabash but he defies them with a bold speech though Turtle says outcome is doubtful as Prophet is desparate [in Carter 1987:189].

By May Harrison had been apprised of the situation. He relates that a group of Delaware chiefs also attempted to keep the Prophet off the Wabash:

> I had a very considerable confidence in the Delawares and Miamis to resist his designs, but a late circumstance has convinced me that altho they may not be converted to his divine mission they are under the greatest apprehension of his temporal power...This circumstance (the Prophet's move to the Wabash) so alarmed the Miamis and Delawares that they resolved to defeat the measure at any risk and the Chiefs of the latter set out to inform him of their determination. The Prophet would not however deign [?] them an interview but dispatched his brother to meet them whose threats or whose persuasions were sufficient to drive back the chiefs with some apprehension and terror [Esarey 1922 (1):290-291].

Harrison now had some misgivings about the Miami. This did not bode well for the tribe despite the steadfast efforts of Little Turtle and the other pro-American chiefs.

Still anxious to promote their civilization programs, Little Turtle and Wells traveled once more to Washington D.C. This time they were accompanied by Richardville as well as representatives from the Delaware and Potawatomi. The unrest in the western territories had apparently dampened the governments enthusiasm for dealing with the Indians. The meetings were unproductive and the little party returned to the Indiana Territory in mid-January 1809 (Carter 1987:190; Woehrmann 1971:189-190). Upon his return, Wells received word that he had been relieved of his duties as Indian agent. Because of his intelligence network, he was retained by Harrison as an interpreter (see Carter 1987 for a detailed account of Wells' stormy relationship with Harrison and Johnston). His dismissal was yet another indication of he and Little Turtle's fall from favor within American circles as Harrison and the government moved toward considering all the Indian nations of the western territories hostile or potentially hostile.

Despite the growing feeling of uneasiness, in the spring of 1809 Harrison determined to secure another cession of land from the Miami. He ordered Johnston to assemble the Miami, Eel River Miami, Delaware and Potawatomi at Fort Wayne. Johnston met in council with the Indians on June 22 and 23, he laid out Harrison's proposal to purchase from the Indians a tract of land "below the mouth of the Vermillion River and above the Tract around Vincennes adjoining the Wabash River" (Thornbrough 1961:56). The Indians agreed to meet with Harrison at the beginning of August and on June 26 the Miami sent a runner to inform the Governor of their decision (Thornbrough 1961:56).

Sometime during the summer, however, plans changed. John Badollet, the register of the Vincennes Land Office wrote his friend Albert Gallatin that the Wabash Indians did not "chuse" to come to Vincennes (Thornbrough 1963:131). Harrison would not be disuaded. He sent an Indian messenger to Johnston at Fort Wayne, telling him that he would be leaving Vincennes on August 31. Johnston immediately dispatched runners to the Miami, Eel River Miami, Delaware and Potawatomi, they were to arrive at Fort Wayne on September 16 (Thornbrough 1961:63-64).

Harrison and his retinue, traveling a circuitous route and avoiding the Wabash, made it to Fort Wayne on September 15. Two days later, Pacane, Hibou and a chief named Osage arrived. Little Turtle was sent for but replied that he could not be there until the 19th. Richardville sent word that he was ill and could not make the trip. Harrison, determined to have the treaty signed by all the principal chiefs, dispatched his interpreter, Joseph Barron, to Mississinewa to persuade Richardville to meet with Harrison (Esarey 1922 (1):362-363). While waiting for the various chiefs and delegations to arrive at Fort Wayne, Harrison busied himself with informally visiting the Indians at their separate camps. On September 20 he called on the Miami. Here Harrison made his pitch, telling the Miami of "the great advantage which they would derive" from agreeing to this cession (Esarey 1922 (1):364). The Miami retired to "Cooly & deliberately...weigh all the arguements he (Harrison) had used..." (Esarey 1922 (1):364). Wells stayed with the Miami during their council and that evening returned to Harrison with their answer. The Miami, Wells told Harrison, "had determined on no account ever to part from another foot of their lands" (Esarey 1922 (1):364). To make matters worse, Barron returned from Mississinewa with the news that Richardville was bedridden but would try to make the treaty proceedings in a few days. The Miami were throwing up roadblocks wherever possible. Not all the news Harrison received was bad. The next evening the Potawatomi sent word that "they had determined that the other Tribes should agree to make the proposed

cession" (Esarey 1922 (1):364). Apparently destitute, the Potawatomi were more than willing to increase their annuities by agreeing to forfeit lands to which they really had no claim.

Though Harrison had counted on having all the principal chiefs present before he opened the negociations, by September 22 he decided he could wait no longer. His long opening harangue was countered by Hibou simply adjourning the meeting to allow the Indians to meet in council, which they did over the next two days. Harrison met privately with Little Turtle, who after pleading Well's case, told Harrison he would work to affect an agreement (Esarey 1922 (1):366). Little Turtle's conciliatory policies had never been widely accepted by the Miami and during the Indian council the majority agreed "not to sell a foot of Land. Observing that it was time to put a stop to the encroachments of the whites who were eternally purchasing their lands for less than the real value of them"; much to the chagrin of the Potawatomi (Esarey 1922 (1):366-367). The Delaware took no side in the fighting.

The next day back at council with the Americans, Harrison tried to mediate between the Potawatomi and the Miami. Little Turtle answered Harrison. The Miami, he said, were not united in opinion with the Potawatomi and the Delaware in this matter. They retired to debate the issue among themselves. That evening Little Turtle called together the Eel River chiefs and chiefs from two unspecified villages. These chiefs were in Little Turtle's favor and agreed to support the cession (Esarey 1922 (1):369). It is clear, though that the old animosity between Little Turtle and the Mississinewa chiefs was still ongoing. In council with the Potawatomi and Delaware the next day the Mississinewa Miami "took the lead in the debate & declared that they would no longer consider them (the Potawatomi) as Brothers but that they would loose the chain which had united them with the Tomahawk" at which point they let loose with "a shout of Defiance which was echoed by all the warriors" (Esarey 1922 (1):369). Storming out of the council, they proceeded to Harrison to tell him of their decision. Through it all Little Turtle's coterie of chiefs sat in silence, apparently "intimidated by the vehemence of the Chiefs of the Mississinway Village" (Esarey 1922 (1):369). To add insult to injury, all during the day Miami warriors arrived at Fort Wayne "loaded with goods from the British agents at Malden" (Esarey 1922 (1):369). That same evening Harrison called most of the Miami chiefs to his lodgings. Harrison took the opportunity to remind the Miami of the perfidious conduct of the British in the past. Doling out wine to lighten the mood, Harrison received a "complimentary answer" from Pacane and the Miami retired "a little melowed with Wine" (Esarey 1922 (1):370).

September 27 and 28 was spent further reconciling the Miami and Potawatomi. When negociations started up again on the 29th, Hibou spoke for the Miami. He told Harrison that the Miami would agree to sell the United States some land but not on the Wabash and only at the same price that "it sells amongst yourselves" (Esarey 1922 (1):370-371). Harrison was outraged that the Miami would dare ask to be paid the same price for their lands as was extended to whites. His two hour diatribe ended with a threat to "extinguish the council fire" if no agreement could be reached by the next day (Esarey 1922 (1):372). Seeing their opportunity for additional annuities slipping away, Winamac of the Potawatomi rose to address Harrison. As he did the Mississinewa Miami also rose and stormed out in protest. The negociations seemed to be at an impass.

At sun rise the next day Harrison went to the Miami camp in a last ditch effort to conclude the treaty. Asking that the chiefs, each in their turn, air their grievances, Harrison learned that their primary objection was again the question of ownership of the Wabash lands. They would not recognize Potawatomi or Delaware claims for compensation for the sell of these lands. Harrison assured them that they were indeed the sole proprietors of the Wabash and that the Potawatomi and Delaware were there only as "allies of the Miamies and not as having any right to the land" (Esarey 1922 (1):374-375). This seemed appease the Miami and Harrison tried to press his position but was told by Pacane to "go to the Fort and they would shortly wait upon him with good news" (Esarey 1922 (1):375). At the council house the final treaty was signed without incident, with the stipulation that the Wea, who were not present at Fort Wayne and who were most impacted by the cession, must approve of it. (Kappler 1972:101). In addition, the Miami signed a supplimentary treaty which confirmed that they were the exclusive owners of the ceded property (Kappler 1972:103). Harrison stayed on at Fort Wayne for another three days (October 1 through 3) distributing that year's annuities to the tribes and then hurried off down the Wabash to secure the arrangement with the Wea:

> We set out on our return to Vincennes through the Indian Country on the morning of the 5th passed the Camp of Pacane the

> principal Miami Chief & found one of his men mortally wounded in a drunken frolick the preceding night...
>
> *Passing through the Indian Villages at the Forks of the Wabash* we arrived at Mississinway on the 6th where we were hospitably received by Richardville the Grand Sachem of the Miamies who expressed his entire satisfaction at the conclusion of the Treaty [Esarey 1922 (1):376 emphasis added].

This passage is the first documented evidence for a substantial, at least semi-permanent, Indian village at the forks of the Wabash. What remains unclear is just when this settlement was established and whether or not Pacane or some other chief was considered the leader of the settlement (see Berthrong 1974:191-192). Richardville obviously remained at Mississinewa and given Pacane's rather nomadic history it does not seem unlikely that he had once more moved his band from the primary Miami settlements at Mississinewa while retaining his status as head chief of the Miami. That Pacane had remained at Mississnewa until at least 1809 is borne out by a document in the Lasselle Collection entitled "To Merchandize Sold to the following Miamie Indians at Mississinewa & Longlois Village from 1801 to 1809" (Indiana State Library, Lasselle Family Papers). Listed among Hyacinth Lasselle's customers were "Le grand Pecane grand Chef", his son, "Le Petit Pecane", and his daughter-in-law, "La Feme du Petit Pecane" (Indiana State Library, Lasselle Family Papers). As Longlois was a trader among the central Wabash, near the Wea and Piankashaw and later at the Eel River Miami villages (see Anson 1953:22), groups not directly associated with Pacane, it can be assumed that he was, between 1801 and 1809, living at Mississinewa It also seems likely, whether or not Pacane was their leader, that the forks of the Wabash Miami were indeed a splinter group from the Mississinewa villages rather than the Eel River villages or any of the Miami groups living farther down the Wabash. The reasons, political or otherwise, for this latest factionalism of the Miami cannot be ascertained at this time.

Once back at Vincennes and after gaining from the Wea their approval of the Fort Wayne Treaty (Kappler 1972:103-104), Harrison sent word to the Secrectary of War, now William Eustis, of the treaty. He naively assured the Secretary that "If any ill blood yet remains" as a result of the treaty, "a little attention to the influential chiefs will soon remove it" (Esarey 1922 (1):388). He could not have been more wrong. The treaty only added fuel to the inflammatory rhetoric of the Prophet and Tecumseh. As a result many of the Miami began to have second thoughts about what had transpired at Fort Wayne. By June 1810 Harrison was concerned about the fidelity of the Miami though that same month Johnston had wrote him of a council he had recently held with the Potawatomi and Miami at which time they had again pledged their alliegence to the United States (Thornbrough 1961:76n). Harrison sent Francis Vigo once more to the Miami to learn their disposition. Like Johnston, he reported that overall the Miami seemed well disposed. He did learn that one, unnamed chief, "a very artful and sensible fellow" had "entered into all the views of the Prophet and even that of murdering all those who should stand in opposition to his measures" (Esarey 1922 (1):446). Perhaps even more ominous was Vigo's finding that a Miami chief had just returned from the King's storehouse at Malden; "after receiving the accustomed donation of goods" the chief was told by British Indian agent Matthew Elliot 'My son keep your eyes fixed on me--my tomahawk is now up--be you ready--but do not strike untill I give the signal' (Esarey 1922 (1):446-447).

The situation continued to deteriorate. In August Tecumseh went to Vincennes to meet Harrison. At this historic conference Tecumseh emerged from the shadow of the Prophet as the the most eloquent spokesman for the Indian cause and Harrison's most inveterate enemy. Tecumseh was most critical of the Fort Wayne Treaty. He told Harrison that he was authorized by the warriors of the many nations of the fledgling confederacy to kill the village chiefs that had participated in the recent treaty and those that take part in any additional treaties (Esarey 1922 (1):465-466). The threats were not taken likely. The Wea, who were at the Vincennes meeting, were to tell Tecumseh, in Harrison's presence, that the Shawnee had no "right to interfere with the sales of land which the native Tribes of the Wabash might make to the United States" (Esarey 1922 (1):470). When the appointed time came the apparently intimidated Wea chief refused to speak (Esarey 1922 (1):470). Moreover, this chief informed Harrison that the Miami had called a council at Mississinewa where the Fort Wayne Treaty would be the main topic of discussion (Esarey 1922 (1):470).

The Mississinewa chiefs, probably angry that they had caved in to Harrison at Fort Wayne, at the Mississinewa council, decided that they had been duped into signing the treaty. When, in October Harrison

authorized Johnston to assemble a council at Fort Wayne to consist of the Delaware, Potawatomi, Shawnee and the Miami, the Miami chiefs held back "under various frivolous pretences" (Esarey 1922 (1):476). Finally, after the Delaware, Potawatomi and Shawnee had departed, the Miami made their appearance. Johnston opened the council by telling the Miami of the events that had taken place between Tecumseh and Harrison at Vincennes and by trying to dispel the rumor that Harrison had negociated the Fort Wayne Treaty without the President's consent. The Miami retired to deliberate, promising they would respond the next day.

When they reconvened, Pacane acted as the spokesman for the tribe. He told Johnston that the Miami were now opposed to the Fort Wayne Treaty, that they had been "forced to agree to the sale of the Land, that the Tomahawk was hung over their necks..." (Esarey 1922 (1):477). In consequence, he went on, they had determined not to accept the annuities due them under the terms of that treaty. Johnston, in turn, accused the Miami of being afraid of the Prophet, calling them not the Miami but "a band of the Prophet's followers" (Esarey 1922 (1):477-478). Furthermore, Johnston told them, "they never would get a foot of the land back again..." and that the United States would "survey the land and settle it..." as soon as it was convenient (Esarey 1922 (1):478). Pacane retorted that if the United States wanted to hold this land they would need "to build a bridge across it" (Esarey 1922 (1):478). Johnston, now angry, scowled that the United States "would build a bridge of warriors with rifles in their hands" (Esarey 1922 (1):478). Pacane and the Mississinewa chiefs remained obstinate and the next day refused their annuities from the Fort Wayne Treaty and left immediately for Detroit. In contrast, all of the Eel River chiefs, except for Charley, accepted their annuities (Esarey 1922 (1):478). It can be assumed that the forks of the Wabash Miami fell in line with the Mississinewa chiefs, as their later actions would indicate. The strong anti-American sentiments espoused by Pacane is perphaps a further indication that he had left the still vacillating Mississinewa chiefs and took up residence at the forks of the Wabash. Johnston reported to Harrison that 378 Miami--probably from the Mississinewa and forks of the Wabash villages--and 22 Eel River Miami attended the council (Esarey 1922 (1):479).

In his report to Harrison on the council, Johnston stressed that he was convinced "all of the mischief that is going among..." the Miami could be laid at the feet of Wells and Little Turtle, an explanation that Harrison was all too willing to accept (Esarey 1922 (1):479; 483). Like Johnston, though, Harrison thought that the storm had passed and that Johnston had mollified the Miami, the majority of which they both still believed to be loyal to the United States. By December Harrison was again unsure of the Miami and was growing increasingly wary of the Prophet's influence over them:

> The Indians appear to be more uneasy and dissatisfied than I ever before saw them, and I believe that the Prophet's principle, that their lands should be considered common property is either openly avowed or secretly favored by all the Tribes west of the Wabash...
>
> The Miamies have been so much frightened by the threats of the Prophet and his party and the jealousy which other Tribes not connected with the Prophet have manifested of their exclusive pretentions to the lands of the Wabash, that I should not be greatly surprised if they were to abandon their claim and acknowledge a community of interest with the other Tribes. A step of this sort would be of infinite prejudice to the United States [Esarey 1922 (1):497].

The early months of 1811 saw the the forces under the Prophet and Harrison drawing inexorably toward armed conflict; while the Miami continued to bicker among themselves. In July Tecumseh returned to Vincennes, this time accompanied by a large force of warriors. He met once more in council with Harrison, where he again decried the Fort Wayne Treaty, but was, according to Harrison, thwarted from carrying out his original plans. These plans, Harrison learned from his spies, were to demand that the land given up by the Fort Wayne Treaty be retroceded. Failing this he was to seize some of the chiefs who had signed the treaty, and who were present at Vincennes, and kill them in Harrison's presence. If Harrison interfered, he was to be killed on the spot (Esarey 1922 (1):545-546). A strong show of force by Harrison's troops prevented any violence. Tecumseh left Vincennes and headed south where he planned to recruit

among the southern tribes. Harrison absolved the Miami chiefs who had accompanied Tecumseh to Vincennes of having any knowledge of the Shawnee's true designs (Esarey 1922 (1):545).

That may not have been the case, for back on the Wabash the anti-American Miami chiefs were edging ever nearer to joining the Prophet. When Harrison sent after the Miami who had lately been at Vincennes, his messenger was told that they would not return for Harrison only planned to deceive them again (Esarey 1922 (1):574). In response, Harrison sent Touissant Dubois, a well-liked Vincennes trader, with a message to the Miami (Figure 14). When he arrived on the upper Wabash, Dubois found that all of the Miami chiefs were preparing to leave to visit the British at Malden. It was only with considerable effort that he, Wells and Johnston's assistant, John Shaw were to bring the Miami to council in September 1811. Dubois reported that "all the Indians of the Wabash" were streaming to Malden and returning with unprecedented amounts of goods (Esarey 1922 (1):575).

Harrison's tone toward the Miami was no longer conciliatory. He told them, "My eyes are now open and I am now looking toward the Wabash. I see a dark cloud hanging over it. Those who have raised it intended it for my destruction; but I will turn it upon their own heads" (Esarey 1922 (1):576). Harrison's ultimatum continued:

> It is time that my friends should be known. I shall draw a line. Those that keep me by the hand must keep on one side of it. Those that adhere to the Prophet on the other.
>
> *My Children.* Take your choice. My warriors are in motion but they shall do you no hurt unless you force me to it....
>
> Do not be afraid to speak your minds. Tell those people that have settled on the Wabash without your leave that the land is yours and you do not wish them there...You shall be supported by my warriors. My warriors are getting ready and if it is necessary you shall see an army of them at your backs more numerous than the leaves of the trees [Esarey 1922 (1):576-577].

The Miami were equally brusque in their reply, this time put forth by the Wea chief Lapoussier (Laprusieur):

> *Father*, Your speech has overtaken us at this place, we have heard it, but it has not scared us, we are not afraid of what you say...
> ...We have our eyes on our lands on the Wabash with a strong determination to defend our rights, let them be invaded from what quarter they may; that when our best interest is invaded, we will defend them to a man, and be made mad but once [Esarey 1922 (1):578-579].

Pacane, along with Big-Man (Lagros), Negro Legs, Osage and Stone Eater, were among the Miami chiefs present who endorsed Lapoussier's speech (Esarey 1922 (1):580).

The pro-American chiefs, on the other hand, acted quickly to try and mollify Harrison. Silverheels, a Mississinewa chief and Charley, an Eel River chief, disassociated themselves from both the Prophet and Lapoussier. Little Turtle remained cautiouly optimistic in his reply to Harrison. He, as always, maintained that the Miami were bound to the United States by the Treaty of Greenville and hoped that the Prophet could be removed from the Wabash without resort to bloodshed. However, he warned Harrison not to offer ultimatums which might force the Miami to chose between the Americans or the Prophet (Esarey 1922 (1):580-581).

Harrison's allusions to the gathering of forces at Vincennes was not merely threatening bravado, for he had long since determined to march against the Prophet while Tecumseh was out of the picture. As for the Prophet, Harrison told the Secretary of War that he did not "think him much of a warrior" (Esarey 1922 (1):572). Accordingly, on September 27, 1811 Harrison, with a total force of just over one thousand men, left Vincennes en route to the now famous Battle of Tippecanoe (Woehrmann 1971:208). Harrison's army snaked its way up the Wabash, pausing to construct Fort Harrison sixty-five miles north of Vincennes, near present day Terre Haute, Indiana. On November 6 they came to within one mile of Prophet's Town on the Tippecanoe River where they met with a deputation from the Prophet and agreed to meet in council the

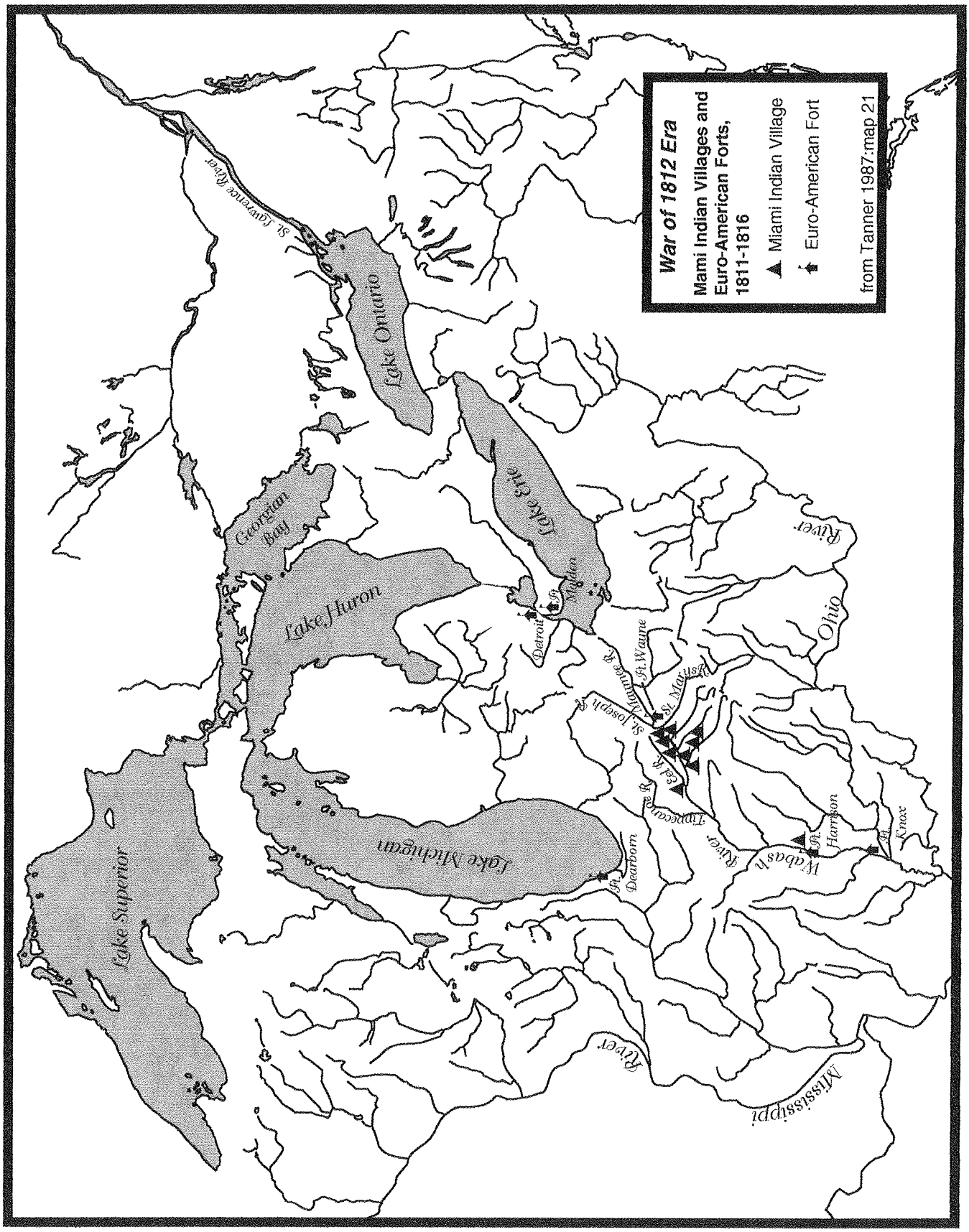


Figure 14. Miami Indian Villages and Euro-American Forts, 1811-1816.

following day. The Prophet's warriors attacked in the pre-dawn hours of November 7, waging a desparate battle for two hours before quitting the field (see Esarey 1922 (1):618-630 for Harrison's account of the battle). Though the American losses were great, almost a fifth of Harrison's men were killed or wounded, the battle was a disaster for the Indians (Barnhart and Riker 1971:391-392). They scattered from Prophet's Town, leaving it to be razed by Harrison. The Prophet was discredited and would fade into the background as Tecumseh stepped forward to reunited the tattered confederacy.

For their part, the Miami seemed to have had little involvement in the action. At Fort Wayne Johnston reported that the "Miamis, Delawares, Shawanoese, Eel River Miamis and Putawatimies" had appeared as usual to receive their annuities and were "as friendly as any former period" (Thornbrough 1961:97n-98n). Furthermore, Johnston added, "In the action (Tippecanoe) there was no Delaware, no Miami, no Eel Rivers, few Putawatamies, no Shawanoese except those who originally separated from the Tribe with the Prophet..." (Thornbrough 1961:98n). This sentiment is echoed by the British Indian agent, Matthew Elliott in his report of the battle to Major-General Isaac Brock, making no mention of the Miami (Esarey 1922 (1):616-617).

Little Turtle took it upon himself to personally proclaim that the Miami had taken no part in the fighting. In January 1812 he had a letter drafted to Harrison, in which he claimed to speak for both the Miami proper and the Eel River Miami:

> *My friend*--Although neither of these tribes have had any thing to do with the late unfortunate affair which happened on the Wabash, still they rejoice to hear you say that if those foolish Indians which were engaged in that action would return to their several homes and remain quiet, that they would be pardoned...[Esarey 1922 (2):18].

Still, it would be perhaps naive to be believe that no Miami warriors were present at the battle given their stern warnings to Harrison only two months before.

Though tribes trying to remain neutral continued to press for peace during the early part of 1812. In March the Miami, Kickapoo, Piankashaw and Winnebago sent envoys to Harrison at Vincennes. Harrison planned to ask representatives from each tribe to consider taking a trip to Washington to meet the President. It was further and futilely hoped that Tecumseh or the Prophet could be induced to make the trip (Esarey 1922 (2):25). The following month Benjamin F. Stickney, Indian Agent subsequent to Johnston's resignation, called a council at Fort Wayne, at which time the offer to visit the President was again presented. The wampum sent to Tecumseh and the Prophet was returned and both refused to attend. Little Turtle, afflicted with gout and nearing the end of his life, could not make the trip (Thornbrough 1961:102-105). In the end only chiefs of the Miami, Eel River Miami, and Potawatomi made it to Fort Wayne, accompanied by five Wyandot from the Detroit region. The Delaware did not show and the Shawnee received word of the council too late to attend.

The deteriorating international situation meant that the greatest fear of the United States was not an Indian confederacy such as the one that existed in the 1790s, but rather a new alliance between the British and those tribes hostile to the United States. Stickney, alluding to this, told the gathered Indians to "be verry caucious of the bad *birds* who fly from across the Lakes, and are now fluttering among you" (Thornbrough 1961:109). If war was break out between the two countries, Stickney warned, the neutral tribes should "remain at home and take care of their women and children" (Thornbrough 1961:109).

Charley, of the Eel River and the most accommodative of the Miami village chiefs, denied the request to visit Washington, saying that as the Miami had done nothing wrong, there was no need for them to petition the President for forgiveness. The factionalism of the Miami, though, was beginning to wear on the old chiefs and Charley admitted that if he and the other pro-American chiefs were to leave "mischief might be done in our absence" (Thornbrough 1961:110). The old chiefs who still held to the commitments they made at Greenville were finding it difficult to restrain their warriors.

The Fort Wayne council was followed immediately by a Indian council at Mississinewa, called, according to Stickeny, by the Wyandot from Detroit (Thornbrough 1961:106). For three days (May 15-17) representatives from twelve groups--Wyandot, Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Delaware, Miami, Eel River Miami, Wea, Piankashaw, Shawnee, Kickapoo and Winnebago--met to try and sort out the mass of information and misinformation swirling through the Indian camps and villages. William Wells accompanied

Little Turtle and Five Medals to the conference. He translated and transcribed the proceedings (Esarey 1922 (2):50-53). The Wyandots began by telling the assembled tribes that they and their fathers, the British, wished them "to put an entire stop to the effusion of blood" (Esarey 1922 (2):50). They were to take no part in any quarrels that might erupt between the British and the Americans. At that point Tecumseh rose and lambasted Harrison for the debacle at Tippecanoe and the conference degenerated into a shouting match between he and the Potawatomi, who Tecumseh blamed for the depredations that Harrison was pinning on the Prophet's group. A Delaware chief interrupted and tried to bring the discussion back around to maintaining peace with the Americans. A Miami chief then spoke up saying that the Miami were happy that "we all appear to be inclined for peace; that we all see that it would be our immediate ruin to go to war with the white people" (Esarey 1922 (2):52). The council broke up with no tangible conclusions having been reached, though, several of those present rushed to Stickney to tell him that the council had decided on a united effort to secure and maintain peace (Thornbrough 1961:130).

By that time, however, Stickney had become convinced that the council had been called as a ruse and that the Wyandot called Shetoon was actually a British agent; preaching peace in publicly but advocating war privately to a few (Thornbrough 1961:126-129). Stickney was at least partially correct, for it seems that Shetoon (Isadore Chaine) had been sent by Elliott with a message to Tecumseh, thus their meeting at Mississinewa (Thornbrough 1961:127n-128n).

Events now began to occur at a frightening pace. At the same time that Five Medals was pledging the fidelity of the tribes at the Mississinewa council to Stickney and the United States, the American outpost at Lake Michigan, Fort Dearborn, was being invested by hostile Indians and a virtual state of seige existed at that post. In June Tecumseh stopped off at Fort Wayne on his way to Malden for powder and lead. Stickney informed him that under the current circumstances, that would be considered an act of enmity and treated as such by the United States (Thornbrough 1961:140-143). Unbeknownst to Tecumseh and Stickney, at the same time they were verbally sparring the United States Senate was voting for war with Great Britain. The offical Declaration of War was approved by President Madison on June 18 and was announced to the public the following day (Carter 1987:227). In Canada the British began preparations for the coming hostilities. Central to their war efforts were their Indian allies. Allen has recently brought to light a previously overlooked document titled "List of Indian Warriors as they stood in 1812 at the time the war was declared" (1993:121). This document, dated Montreal 1814, provides a thorough breakdown of the warrior strength of Great Britain's Indian allies. The document lists the Miami contribution as a mere 80 warriors, probably an indication that only the anti-American faction was included in the estimates. An additional 180 warriors were accredited to the Poass, probably the Piankashaw and Wea (Allen 1993:Appendix B). The warriors enumerated, as the author of the document goes on to state, "were all in Arms for the British Govt and most of them joined the Armies in the Field-but even those who did *not* were perhaps more ammicable to the Cause" (Allen 1993:Appendix B).

Word of the war did not reach Fort Wayne until June 6 by newspaper and not officially until a letter from John Mason dated July 19 reached Stephen Johnston, assistant factor at the Fort Wayne Indian agency (Woehrmann 1971:215). The outbreak of war could not have come at a worse time for the Miami. It appeared as if Little Turtle and the pro-American Miami chiefs, in the wake of Tippecanoe, were regaining ground in keeping the Miami neutral. For Little Turtle the struggle ended at William Wells's home at Fort Wayne. On July 14, according to Carter, Little Turtle asked to be carried outside and laid on the ground under the shade of a tree, where, as Stickney later wrote, he "breathed his last" (Carter 1987:228; Thornbrough 1961:161). It was a crushing blow to the pro-American Miami faction, however, things would get worse.

Just after Little Turtle's death the Prophet and a small party arrived at Fort Wayne on their return trip from Malden. Two hundred Miami, Delaware and Potawatomi also happened to be at the Fort. Typically, the Prophet professed his peaceful intentions before Stickney and the gathered Indians. He told Stickney that he would gladly meet with American commissioners. Before departing he asked Stickney to supply he and his party with food or at least some powder and lead, as his women and children "were actually starving" (Thornbrough 1961:163). Stickney declined but did give powder and lead to the Delaware, who, he said, could redistribute it as they saw fit (Thorbrough 1961:163).

While at Fort Wayne the commanding officer Captain James Rhea was growing apprehensive of the increased Indian activity around the fort--on July 15 he issued orders that the alert should go out whenever a "dancing party" of Indians approached within fifty yards of the of the garrison (Griswold 1927:365)--the

situation at Fort Dearborn had become critical. After learning that Michilimackinac had surrendered to the British on July 17, William Hull, at Detroit and the commander of the Northwest Army, ordered Captain Nathan Heald to evacuate Fort Dearborn. The order was sent along to Rhea at Fort Wayne, who was to offer any assistance he could to Heald and his garrison (Woehrmann 1971:223-224; Carter 1987:230-231). William Wells volunteered to lead a relief party to assist Heald.

Wells selected thirty Miami warriors and with Corporal Walter K. Jordan set out for Fort Dearborn on August 8, arriving at the beleaguered fort on August 13. Upon consulting with Captain Heald, the decision was made to attempt the evacuation. The Indians milling about the fort were obviously aggitated, but Heald and Wells felt that by offering up the fort's stock and supplies--except for the liquor, arms and ammuntion--as plunder they could make good their escape. On the morning of August 15 the garrison, their families, civilians, Wells and the Miami escort left the relative safety of Fort Dearborn and headed out overland for Fort Wayne. Jordan, in a letter to his wife written October 12, 1812, described what happened next:

> Wee leave fort dearbourn about 8 O Clock in the morning Bound for fort Wayne and Marched about 1 mile when we wore attacked with 500 kikepoos and winabagoes indians and our pretended friends [the Miami escort] (joined) them. our engagement last about 10 (minutes) When there was Every man wooman and Chid (killed) But 15 and thanks be to god I was one of them tha first Shot the fether out of my Cap the nex Shot the appolet of my Shoulder and the 3 Broke the handle of my Sword I had to Surrender My Self to 4 Damd yallow indians tha Marche me up to whar Wells Lay and one of them Spok English and Said Jordan I now you you gave me some toBacco at fort wain you Shant Be kild but See What I will doe with your Captain
>
> He then Cut of his head and Stuck it on a pol while another tuck out his hart and divided it among the Chieffs and tha Eate it up raw...[Barnhart 1945:191].

Jordan and the rest the of the survivors, including Captain Heald and his wife, were taken prisoner by the Indians.

Both Jordan's account and that of William Griffith, as given by McAfee (1816:98-101), agree that the Miami warriors who accompanied Wells to Fort Dearborn turned on the Americans and joined the Potawatomi, Kickapoo and Winnebago in the slaughter, though Griffith notes that they did so only after Wells was killed. With Little Turtle and Wells both dead and the resounding victories of the British and their Indian allies all over the Great Lakes the Miami, almost wholesale, abandoned neutrality and rose up against the Americans.

Meanwhile, at Piqua, Ohio American commissioners were holding a council in a last ditch effort to keep the Algonquians out of the conflict. The council commenced on August 15 with the Delaware, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Seneca, Mingo and Wyandots in attendance. As expected, all those tribes present proclaimed their attachment to the United States and their desire to remain neutral. A reporter for the Pittsburg Mercury wrote that "the greatest order and harmony have prevailed (in) their camps (the Indians') and the neighboring inhabitants place confidence in their assurances of friendship" [Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications (OAHP) 1919:323]. He went on to say that the Indians good disposition did not falter even when on August 19 and 20, they received word, first, of the Fort Dearborn incident and then that Hull had surrendered Detroit to the British (OAHP 1919:323). When he left Piqua on August 24, the prospects still looked good for keeping the Miami neutral, for it was reported that a large number were in route to the conference (OAHP 1919:323). McAfee, a participant during the war and a chronicler of it after, wrote that a "large body of Miamies" had made it to within five miles of Fort Wayne when the news of Fort Dearborn, Michilimackinac, and Detroit reached their camps. Unlike the Indians at Piqua, the Miami were swayed by the news; they turned ominously back toward Fort Wayne (McAfee 1816:111).

At Fort Wayne the news of the fate of Heald, Wells and company--brought back to the fort by the Miami who had accompanied Wells-- sent Captain Rhea into a state of panic. On August 19 he wrote to John Johnston at Piqua:

> Bad news!--Capt. Heald Commandt at Chicago & party is all cut off by the Indians when returning from the Fort--Not a white man escaped...--from the best information I can get they are determined on this place...for *Gods sake* call on Gov. Meigs for to Assist us in sending More Men...we are very scant of provisions here--for *Gods sake* try in Some Way to get Some forwarded to us--I expect if there is not Something done we must fall a Prey [in Woehrmann 1971:226].

Though apparently not as distracted by the situation as Rhea, Ensign Daniel Curtis did note that the "Indians since the news of Chicago, except some of the Miamies, have expressed and manifested a verry different conduct from anything hitherto observed in them" (Peckham 1948:414). His remark may be taken to mean that while some of the Miami were still attempting to remain neutral, many had openly joined in the fray. By August 28 the investment of Fort Wayne was complete. On that day Stephen Johnston, the brother of John Johnston, attempted to leave the fort and go to Piqua. Johnston ,along with two companions had only gone about a half a mile before they were killed. Curtis said that Johnston had been "shot, tomahawked, scalped, stabbed in 23 places, and beaten and bruised in the most barbarous manner" (Peckham 1948:414). John Johnston later told Harrison that he believed that his brother had been killed by the Miami (Esarey 1922 (2):175).

Feeling out the strength and resolve of the garrison, several of the chiefs arranged a parley under a flag of truce with Rhea and Stickney on August 29. Absolving themselves of the murder of Johnston, the chiefs kept the flag of truce, saying they would return the next day (Peckham 1948:414). Much to the consternation of Curtis and the rest of the garrison, the Indians spent the next five days flaunting the truce by killing or driving off the livestock and plundering the fort's corn fields "within point blank musket shot" of the stockade (Peckham 1948:414). Rhea, "from cowardice or some other agency" would not allow the men to engage the emboldened Indians (Peckham 1948:414-415). Finally on the evening of September 4 a group of chiefs including Winamac, Five Medals, Chapine (Chappune, Chappim) and three others approached the fort (Peckham 1948:415). Chapine was a "principal war Chief" of the Miami from the forks of the Wabash (see Esarey 1922 (2):175). The chiefs were asked whether it was their intention to remain at peace or declare themselves "in an open state of war fare" (Peckham 1948:415). Winemac, speaking for the group, remained equivocal, telling the Americans, "I dont know what to tell you, but you know that Mackinac is taken, Detroit is in the hands of the British, and you must expect to fall next, and probably in a few days" (Peckham 1948:415). At that point Rhea, who had been steadily slipping deeper and deeper into despair, seems to have completely lost his nerve. He invited Winamac to his personel quarters where, to the astonishment of those present, he told the Potawatomi, "my good friend, I love you, I will fight for you, I will die by your side" (Peckham 1948:415). Rhea closed the meeting by inviting Winamac to breakfast with him the next morning. According to Curtis, Rhea remained "drunk as a fool all night" and from that point forward was essentially unable to command.

The Indians, who must have been heartened by Rhea's behavior, intensified their hostilities the following morning. At six A.M. two soldiers were shot and killed while returing from the "necessary" (Peckham 1948:415). Curtis, who along with Lieutenant Philip Ostrander effectively took command of the post, watched the movements of the Indians throughout the day (September 5) and concluded that there would be "some sport before the next morning" (Peckham 1948:415). He was not disappointed. At about eight o' clock that evening "a general shout was heard from the Indians" and the fort came under fire from all sides (Peckham 1948:415). Several broadsides and well placed howitzer shells replused the initial assault but the Indians, sniping from behind "building fences and shrubberies", kept up a sporadic fire all night and well into the next afternoon, hoping to unnerve and wear down the garrison (Peckham 1948:415-416). The attack resumed "with much warmth" the evening of the sixth but was again replused. From that point on, both sides settled into the waiting game of the seige, the Indians hoping for reinforcements and artillery from the British at Detroit, while the Americans could only hope that a relief force would reach them first.

Harrison, at Cincinnati, received word that Fort Wayne was in imminent danger of attack on August 28 and he immediately set about organizing a relief force (Esarey 1922 (2):103). By September 3 Harrison was at Piqua, where he ordered Colonel John Allen "to force his way to Ft. Wayne" (Esarey 1922 (2):109). Allen made it to Girtystown on the St. Mary's River before receiving further orders to halt and

await the rest of the army (Wesley 1927:335, 335n). Back at Piqua, Harrison determined from the commissioners at the Piqua Indian council that all but those tribes who had attended the council should be considered hostile to the United States. The Miami, he thought, were "still wavering" (Esarey 1922 (2):109). That evening Harrison received more bad news, a combined British and Indian force had left Malden on August 18, destined for Fort Wayne (Woehrmann 1971:236, Esarey 1922 (2):117). Harrison's intelligence that evening must have included some mention of the Indians investing Fort Wayne, for the next day he informed Eustis that "there is little doubt but all the Indians (Miamis included) will participate in the attack of Fort Wayne" (Esarey 1922 (2):117). Harrison now considered the Miami hostile and, as his subsequent actions would demonstrate, even those Miami still endeavoring to remain neutral would be viewed as such by United States forces.

The news of British and Indian reinforcements was probably a reference to an expedition led by Major Peter Chambers. Chambers destroyed block houses and provisions at the River Raisin, south of Detroit, and at the Foot of the Rapids on the Maumee before returing to Detroit. In his report of the actions, Chambers makes no mention of the seige at Fort Wayne (Esarey 1922 (2):93). A diary kept by William McCay, a soldier in the Canadian militia, noted that after destroying the block house on the Maumee, Chambers "was going to Fort Wayne" but was recalled (Wood 1920 (1):554-555). A second British force, under the command of Captain Adam Muir, sent to reinforce the Indians beseiging Fort Wayne, was never a serious threat, as it did not get under way until after Harrison had marched to the fort's relief (see Wood 1920 (1):592-593, 544-545, 527-528; Allen 1993:138).

By September 8 Harrison had managed to consolidate his troops at the St Mary's River and was ready to push for Fort Wayne. However, supplies had become dangerously low, prompting Harrison to deliver an emotional appeal to the men. After informing the men of their situation and asking them to continue on with only half rations, he said, "any who do not feel willing to go on these terms may remain at the fort, and have plenty" (Darnall 1978:8). Two soldiers in the throng reported that whole army agreed to the terms (Quaife 1914:274; Darnell 1978:8). They marched the next day. Treking through "some first rate woodland" and "a large prairie of the best quality" they arrived on the tenth at the second crossing of the St Mary's shortly after dusk (Darnell 1978:8; Quaife 1914:274-275). Here Harrison issued "a General Order...designed to shew the order of battle for night and day attack" (Darnell 1978:8). Deep in the heart of Indian territory, apprehension among the troops mounted. The night of the eleventh was the worst. Harrison penned the Secretary of War, "I shall...reach it (Fort Wayne) tomorrow. I have every reason to believe that it will not be without a severe contest" (Esarey 1922 (2):130). For the first time the men "busily engaged in throwing up a breast work" until the camp was fortified "very strongly with timber" (Quaife 1914:275; Darnell 1978:10). An unidentified soldier related in his diary that the "centinals fired the greater part of the night, and at some times a whole platoon of them would fire at a time" (Quaife 1914:275). These alarms, according to a Kentucky volunteer, Elias Darnell, "seemed to shake the boasted valor of some of our bravest heroes" (Darnell 1978:11).

Early on the morning of September 12 the army resumed its march--"with as much caution as the nature of our hurrying would admit"--toward Fort Wayne, twenty miles away (Darnell 1978:10; Quaife 1914:275). As they neared a five mile stretch of swamp the fear of ambush became almost palpable (Quaife 1914:275; Darnell 1978:10-11). One mile into the swamp the general alarm went out and battle lines were formed but as Darnell observed, they "saw no enemy to fight" (Darnell 1978:10). Taking up their march and putting the swamp behind them, the relief force hurried through "a great deal of first rate land, rich, level & well timbered, but badly watered near the road" (Darnell 1978:11). At about three o' clock that afternoon the army came within site of Fort Wayne, to the "great joy of the inhabitants" (Peckham 1948:417; Darnell 1978:11). To the great relief of the soldiers, the Indians had retreated from the fort upon their approach. Curtis, from inside the fort, noted:

> After the 10th we remained in tranquillity, but could see frequently large parties of Indians between that time and the 12th running across the river and the paries [prairies], and many of them without arms. We were at a loss to determine the cause of this singular movement, but concluded that they must have seen some movement of an army between this and Piqua, as they were running from that quarter [Peckham 1948:417].

It was probably at this time and over the course of the next couple of days that the Miami living at the forks of the Wabash and other upper Wabash villages as well as the Eel River Miami began to make preparations to evacuate their towns.

The scene at Fort Wayne was chaotic. One soldier said that "the place looked dessolate" (Quaife 1914:276). All described the burned out building surrounding the fort, including the Indian factory, and the farmstead belonging to William Wells. Colonel Allen noted that the "ruins were still smoking" when they arrived (Wesley 1927:335). Inside the fort, Curtis and the other officers lost no time in informing Harrison of "the meritorious conduct of our intrepid Capt. (Rhea)" (Peckham 1948:417). Rhea was relieved of his command the next day but Harrison mediated the dispute and allowed Rhea to resign rather than face charges (Peckham 1948:417).

As the next order of business Harrison called a council of war "composed of all the field officers" of Fort Wayne in order to determine exactly who was culpable for the assault and seige of the fort (Esarey 1922 (2):143). As a result of this meeting Harrison

> determined to employ them [the troops] a few days in destroying the corn and other provisions at the Potawatomie and Miami towns of Elkhart and the forks of the Wabash. The participation of the Chiefs of both those villages in the attack upon Fort Wayne having been ascertained by satisfactory testimony adduced to a council of war [Esarey 1922 (2):143).

The "chief" of the forks of the Wabash village indentified to Harrison by the Fort Wayne officers must have been Chapine, for he is the only Miami chief referred to by both Harrison and Curtis as having been involved in the attack and seige (Esarey 1922 (2):175; Peckham 1948:415). Harrison's reference to "Chappim" as a principal war chief must indicate that he was not the civil chief of the forks village.

Having but one day to repose at the fort, on September 14 the troops were divided into two detachments, one under the command of Brigadier General John Payne and the other under the command of Colonel Samuel Wells, the brother of William. Payne's detachment, consisting of Colonel William Lewis's and Colonel John Allen's Regiments of Kentucky militia and Captain William Garrard's troop of Dragoons, was ordered to destroy the villages at and about the forks of the Wabash. Harrison was to accompany this detachment (Esarey 1922 (2):143-144). Wells's detachment was ordered to march against the Potawatomi village at Elkhart and Little Turtle's village on the Eel River (see Quaife 1914:276-277 and Patrick 1992:119-120 for first-hand accounts of this action).

Leaving the fort on September 14, Payne's detachment marched five miles across the long portage to the Little River, where they encamped for the night (Darnell 1978:12). The next morning they "came to an Indian hut and a small corn-field, two miles from our encampment" (Darnell 1978:12). This was likely a sentry post of sorts, monitoring the traffic on the portage between the Maumee and the Wabash. As they proceeded over the next twenty-three miles to the forks of the Wabash, Colonel Allen found the marshy prairies of the Wabash-Erie Channel rough going, "the thickets thro which we had to force our way nearly wore out our cloaths and the swamps & thickets very much jaded our horses -- for besides the minor swampings they were occaisionally so deep that we had to throw ourselves off and let them scuffle out out" (Wesley 1927:336).

It was evening by the time the Americans finally reached the forks of the Wabash Miami village on September 15. Finding that the village had been abandoned, the troops contented themselves with merely pulling down "some of their houses" and building up fires for the evening encampment (Darnell 1978:12). That evening, still short on rations, Darnell and the other soldiers plundered the Miami corn fields, "We had plenty of roasting ears of the best kind. It is a small kind of corn and very suitable for roasting-ears, which answered us a very good purpose, as we had only a little provision with us" (Darnell 1978:12-13). The next day the soldiers got down to the serious business of destroying the Miami villages. Three accounts of this action exist and are given below at some length.

Harrison's official report to the Secretary of War succinctly described the events of September 15 and 16:

> we reached the Towns at the forks of the Wabash on the evening of 15th they had been abandoned by the inhabitants several days about 1500 bushells of corn were cut up and destroyed as completely as the state it was in would permit [Esarey 1922 (2):144-145].

Elias Darnell and William B. Northcutt, both members of the Kentucky militia, left more vivid accounts of the destruction of the Miami villages. Darnell wrote:

> 16th, We marched through their towns, four in number, in the bounds of three or four miles, in which there were fresh signs of Indians. We cut up their corn and put it in piles, 60 or 80 acres, so that it might rot. A variety of beans were found growing with their corn,--potatoes, pumpkins, water-melons & cucumbers were also cultivated by them. Their houses were all burnt by the orders of Gen. Harrsion. Some of them were built of bark and some of logs. The tomb of a chief was discovered; it was built on the ground with timber and clay, so that no rain or air could enter;--the chief was laid on his blanket, his head towards sunrise, his rifle by his side, his tin pan on his breast, with a spoon in it. He was ornamented in their style, with ear-rings, broaches, &c.--This is one of the most beautiful places in the western country, the soil is equal to any part of Kentucky [Darnell 1978:13].

Northcutt provides a little more light-hearted account, which, given the great relief the soldiers must have felt at finding the village abandoned, is not surprising:

> The Second day we came to the first town which was Evacuated. They had left a Set of Blacksmiths tools in the town and a few Chickens, all of which we Captured. There was about a dozen of the boys took after a chicken to ketch it. I stood and looked on until the boys and the chicken were Both pretty well run down. I then jumped in and picked up the chicken and run down to the river with it, diped it in the water, wet it and picked it, and had it on the fire cooking in a very few minutes.
>
> In this town there was found a fresh Indian grave made in a maner pecular to themselves. It was Built of Small poles and daubed up tight with mortar made of mud, the pen was about three feet High and four feet wide and Covered with poles and mortar or mud and in it was found an old Indian man Lying flat on his Back, wrapt up in a Blanket and on his Breast sat a tin pan with a great many silver Breaches in it with his gun lying by his side. The boys tore the top of[f] to look in and while one of them was stooping down peeping in, one of my mess mates pushed him Right in with the old Indian, which occasioned a good deal of meriment with the boys.
>
> We destroyed this town and went about 15 miles lower down the River to another town called the White Loon town. We found it also Evacuated. In this [town] there was a great deal of corn and vegetables of all kinds. We destroyed their corn and every thing Else with their town which we Burned. Encamped in the Edge of the town that night, and the next morning started back for Fort Wayne [Clift 1958:171].

In 1837 artist George Winter visited a Miami burial ground near Logansport, Indiana. There he observed and later painted the burial house of "the renowned chief and warrior No-Ka-me-nah" also known as Captain Flowers (Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:128). His description of Captain Flowers grave is remarkably similar to Darnell's and Northcutt's description of the burial house at the forks of the Wabash:

> The Chief's [grave] loomed up above all others of greater consequence. It was rudely constructed of logs, within was placed a pine box, or che-pe-em-kak, protecting the remains. The Chief's rifle, tin cup, powder horn and other relics were deposited so that the Spirit might carry along with it, in its flight, the chosen earthly objects, to the beautiful world of the furture hunting ground [Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:128].

Payne's troops returned to Fort Wayne on September 18, the same day the Colonel Wells troops returned from the Elkhart River. Upon learning that Wells, due to lack of supplies, had not been able to destroy Little Turtle's village, Harrison dispatched Colonel James Simrall to accomplish the mission. Simrall had just arrived at Fort Wayne at the head of "4 troops of Kentucky Dragoons" (Esarey 1922 (2):145). Harrison justified this action in his letter to the Secretary of War:

> I had no evidence of the inhabitants of that Town having joined in the hostilities against Fort Wayne but as they had fled from it, and the corn would support the hostile Indians in a second attempt upon fort Wayne, it became necessary for the safety of that place that it should be destroyed. I have however no doubt of the hostile disposition of the Miami generally. Many of the chiefs are no doubt desirous of preserving their friendly relations with us, but as they are unable to control the licentious part of their tribe it is impossible to discriminate. If we have no alternative but operating upon their fears by severe chastisement I am convinced that the appearance of so large a force at Fort Wayne and the destruction of the Indian villages and property will be of considerable service to our future operations [Esarey 1922 (2):145].

Future operations against the Miami would include two expeditions against the Miami strongholds at Mississinewa.

Following the destruction of their villages at Eel River and the forks of the Wabash, the militant Miami sent nine war belts to the Delware, urging them to join the Miami against Americans. John Conner, an American trader with close connections to the Delaware, reported to Harrison the Delaware's firm rejection of the Miami overtures (Esarey 1922 (2):164). At the same time the pro-American chiefs were rushing to Harrison with offers of peace. They finally caught up with Harrison at his headquarters in Franklinton, Ohio. Still incensed at what he considered the Miami's duplicity, he would have nothing of their protestations of innocence. The chiefs present included Stone Eater, Little Thunder, Hibou, Charley and Little Turtle's son; also there on behalf of the Miami was the French Canadian trader Longlois (Anson 1970:166-167; Esarey 1922 (2):174-175). Harrison informed the chiefs that he had in his possession "facts which unequivocally" linked the Miami to hostilities against the United States (Esarey 1922 (2):175). In addition to Chapine and his warrior's involvement in the Fort Wayne affair, it seems that other Miami and/or Wea warriors had participated in the attack upon American settlers at Pigeon Roost, near the Ohio River and the assault on Fort Harrison, both of which occurred in the first week of September (Esarey 1922 (2):175) (see Figure 15 for War of 1812 engagements involving the Miami). The attack at Pigeon Roost killed twenty-four men, women and children and Harrison reported to Eustis that a scalp taken at Pigeon Roost was exhibited by a Miami warrior at Mississinewa (Barnhart and Riker 1971:401; Esarey 1922 (2):175). The Miami presented the scalp to some Potawatomi who were passing through Mississinewa, saying, "you have always accused us of being the friends of the white people: we present this to the Putawatamies to prove to them that we are not the friends of the whites" (Thornbrough 1961:174). In consequnece of these actions, Harrison demanded that the Miami send five chiefs, to be named by him, to Piqua to be held as hostages. This, Harrison hoped, would restrain the Miami from further hostilities. He was still concerned about the fighting capabilites of the Miami warriors. As he explained to Eustis, "they can do us considerable injury if they are driven off and unite with the hostile bands which are collecting towards the southern extremity of Lake Michigan" (Esarey 1922 (2):175).

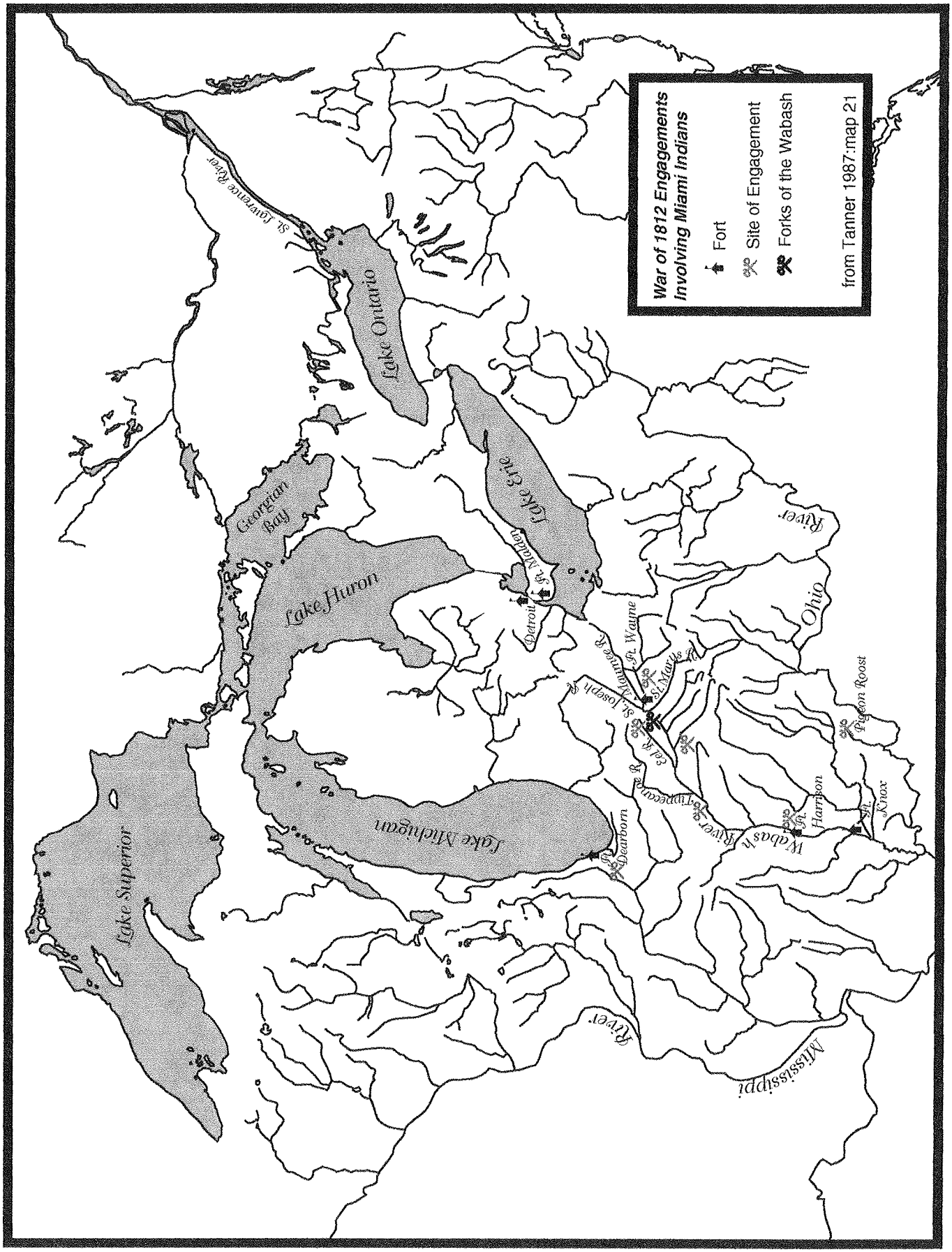


Figure 15. War of 1812 Engagements Involving Miami Indians.

Though some Miami may have joined Tecumseh and the British in Canada, most of the Miami seem to have congregated at the Mississinewa villages. William Conner was at Mississinewa in October. He found that the Miami were universally opposed to the United States. Richardville was home at Mississinewa and told Conner that the Potawatomi had been passing by with "droves" of stolen horses as they moved north to avoid the Americans (Esarey 1922 (2):186). Conner's opinion of the Miami disposition proved correct, for they reneged on their pledge to send the five chiefs picked by Harrison to Piqua. Harrison was furious. In his October 26 letter to Secretary Eustis he wrote that "the base ingratitude with which the greater part of the tribe (the Miami) have conducted themselves towards us merits in my opinion the severest chastisement" (Esarey 1922 (2):189). Harrison already had in mind a plan for the "infliction" of that chastisement; nothing, he wrote, "can be more easy than to surprise the Miami Town of Mississinaway with mounted men" (Esarey 1922 (2):189-190). In November he ordered Colonel John B. Campbell to attack and destroy the Miami villages at Mississinewa. Stickney had told Harrison that "all the Miamies" were assembled at Mississinewa (Thornbrough 1961:174). Harrison's instructions to Campbell empathsize that fact:

> Inform yourself as minutely as possible from [William] Conner and others who have been to Mississineway of the localities of the place and situation of the Indians. Th Three small Tribes which compose what they call the Miami nation were very lately assembled there viz: the Miamies proper whose residence it is, the Eel River tribe and the Wea tribe...[Esarey 1922 (2):229].

Harrison implies that although the Miami had congregated together at the Mississinewa, the different factions may have kept separate camps, regarded as separate villages by the Americans. Knowledge of who was at each camp was key to Harrison's further instructions. He told Campbell to try and protect chiefs who he felt were still pro-American, "if it can be done without risk" (Esarey 1922 (2):229). The list of chiefs included "Richardville (a half French man the 2nd Chief of the Miamies) Silver Heels the White Loon certainly", he was a little less sure of the fidelity of "Pecon the Principal Chief of the Miamies and Charly the principal Chief of the Eel River Tribe" (Esarey 1922 (2):229). Campbell was also to offer protection to the sons and brothers of Little Turtle. Finally, Harrison summed up the justifications for the attack:

> The Hostilities which have been actually committed upon us by the Miamies justify our considering of them as enemies. They would not however have been attacked at this time but for the facility which their Towns affords to the other tribes to attack our settlements and the convoys of the left wing of the army. The whole of the provisions must therefore be destroyed and the towns burned [Esarey 1922 (2):230].

Campbell and six hundred mounted troops left Greenville on December 14 and headed for the Mississinewa. Three days later they surprised and attacked a mixed Miami and Delaware village, thought initially to be Silver Heel's town. The warriors put up little resistance as they fled across the river and Campbell's men killed eight warriors and captured eight more, along with thirty-four women and children. Campbell burned this town and killed the cattle and other livestock he found there. The next day Campbell proceeded down the Mississinewa a few miles where he found "three considerable villages" that had been abandoned (Esarey 1922 (2):255). Here again, he burned the towns, killed the livestock and took several horses before returning to the first village he had destroyed. He made camp the night of December 17 at the burned out Miami village. Shortly before dawn the following morning the regrouped Miami warriors, with a "most hideous yell", attacked the Americans (Esarey 1922 (2):256). Though they inflicted only minor casualties on the Americans--eight killed and forty-eight wounded, two mortally--they did succeed in forcing Campbell and his men, bedraggled and licking their wounds, back to Greenville (Esarey 1922 (2):269-274). The long march back, in fact, took more of a toll on the Americans than the Miami attack, as severe frostbite rendered three hundred and three men unfit for duty (Esarey 1922 (2):259-261).

Though some of the Miami, especially the more militant warriors, probably retired to Detroit or Malden where they joined with the Indian allies under Tecumseh, the majority seem to have once more

returned to Mississinewa following Campbell's retreat (Anson 1970:171). By June 1813 Harrison was preparing for his final drive to retake Detroit but felt uneasy about leaving the still potentially dangerous Miami at Mississinewa on his western flank. He ordered Colonel William Russell on a second expedition against the Mississinewa villagers. When Russell, leading nearly six hundred rangers and volunteers, arrived at the Mississinewa he found "four or five distinct villages; one pretty strongly fortified, adjoining which a very considerable encampment of Indians had been kept up, all of which we destroyed" (Esarey 1922 (2):497). Russell speculated that the villages had been evacuated sometime very early that spring. From these villages, Russell followed the Mississinewa to the Wabash and headed down river toward Vincennes. Passing the Eel River he found the Miami village there had also been abandoned, in fact, he found all the Indian villages along the Wabash between the Mississinewa and Vincennes abandoned (Esarey 1922 (2):497-499). With this, the Miami reluctantly left their home territory and sought aid and protection from the British at Detroit and Malden; as Charley later explained it to Harrison:

> we took into consideration our women and children; we looked with compassion on them, and concluded we were no longer at liberty to choose; we were no longer our own men; that the Great Author of nature had placed us in this situation, and not we ourselves. After viewing our young men, women, and children, and perceiving all our red brethern flocking towards the British, we looked around also, and concluded we were unable to stand against you, and, therefore, we determined to follow those others of our red brethern who took their course towards the British [ASP IA (1):830].

Pacane moved with his "women and children" to Brownstown, a predominately Wyandot village south of Detroit, but it is not known how many of the Miami followed him (ASP IA (1):831-832). There, he later told Harrison, "the British gave me the tomahawk, and I took it from them" (ASP IA (1):831). He claimed, however, that when in September 1814 he saw Harrison pass through Detroit, in route to his final confrontation with Tecumseh and the Indian confederacy, he and his warriors "moved to one side to let you pass" (ASP IA (1):831-832). Pacane said that although he had taken the hatchet from the British, it remained in his hands unused and that he had withheld his young men and warriors "from doing any mischief" (ASP IA (1):831-832). Despite Pacane's professions of innocence, it is certain that some Miami warriors were at the Battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813, when Harrison and the Americans defeated the British and their Indian allies and Tecumseh was killed (Anson 1970:173).

After the battle the Miami along with the Ottawa, Wyandot and some Potawatomi, approached Harrison seeking his terms of peace. Harrison was inclined to offer leniency to the Ottawa and Wyandot but felt that the "Miamies and Potawatimies deserve no mercy, they were the tribes most favored by us. They have been (the latter particularly) our most cruel and inverterate enemies" (Esarey 1922 (2):574). Even so, he was willing to grant an armistice to the Miami and Potawatomi, "in order to get them to their own grounds where they will be perfectly in our power" (Esarey 1922 (2):574). On October 14, at Detroit, the aforementioned tribes entered into an armistice with the United States and agreed to cease all hostile actions. Signing the document for the Miami were Pacane, Osage, Wonkema, Charley (Retonga), Stone Eater (Newa Shosa) and Lapoussier (Papahongua); Jean Baptiste Richardville signed with the Potawatomi (Esarey 1922 (2):577-578).

With the signing of this armistice, the participation of the Miami in the War of 1812 came to an end. However, Harrison was not quite satisfied. For the *coup de grace* he decided to assemble all of the recently hostile tribes at Greenville to negociate the final terms of peace. The symbolism of that choice was not lost on Harrison, for when he arrived at Greenville he found that the council house constructed for the treaty was located "about thirty rods southwest of where the council formerly stood, in which the justly celebrated treaty of Greenville was made and signed by General Wayne" (ASP IA (1):828). He immediately ordered that the new council house be to the exact location of Wayne's council house (ASP IA (1):828). Official proceedings commenced on July 8, 1814 and were concluded on July 22 (see ASP IA (1):828-836). In the councils Pacane and Charley acted as the spokesmen for the Miami. Both denounced the American attack on Mississinewa, Charley being the most vociferous on this point. In the end, just as had been the case at Greenville nineteen years earlier, the Miami were in no position to make demands or force the

Americans to concede any point. Pacane, still regarded as the "head chief of the Miami" a position he had held for the last fifty years, spoke last for the Miami:

> Now, FATHER: I was glad to hear you speak of including us in the treaty, and that our lands should be secured to us so long as the sun shone on them. All our people are glad with me, Father, that you confirm to us our lands, and that you will not deduct us from our victualling
>
> And now FATHER: It is unnecessary for me to multiply words. I will do my best to comply with every thing I have engaged to do. The Great Spirit sees what we are doing, and he will be the judge of our actions, and see if we fulfil our engagements [ASP IA (1):836].

The protection of their lands along the Wabash River and its waters had long been the primary concern of the Miami people. Their opposition to first the French and then later the British and Americans had always stemmed from fear of losing those lands. Unfortunately for Pacane and the Miami, the American guarantee of their lands "as long as the sun shone" would be superceded by the push of American frontier settlers into the lands occupied by the Miami.

Period V (The Post-war Years - A Summary)

The events of September 12 through September 18, 1812 ended the Miami occupation of archaeological site 12-Hu-1022. It was not, however, the end of the Miami occupation of the forks of the Wabash. In an 1814 letter to Secretary of War, John Armstrong, Harrison summarized the Indian situation on the western frontier. The Miami, he said:

> have their principal settlements at the forks of the Wabash, thirty miles from fort Wayne; and at Mississineway, thirty miles lower down. A band of them under the name of weas, have resided on the Wabash, twenty miles northwest of fort Wayne...The Miamies, Maumees, or Tewicktovies, are the undoubted proprietors of all that beautiful country which is watered by the Wabash and its branches...[Esarey 1922 (2):637].

In his eyes the Miami were a defeated people and the United States had nothing more to fear from them as they were "a poor, miserable, drunken set, diminishing every year" (Esarey 1922 (2):641). But the Miami would not fade into obscurity quite so easily as Harrison imagined. They would continue to press their claims to the Wabash lands in the face of overwhelming difficulties for the next thirty years.

In 1816 the ever roving Pacane, now at least seventy years old, announced to the Miami that he was going to establish a village at the Eel River and invited all of them to join him with their wives and children (Esarey 1922 (2):725). Unfortunately, the aged warrior and dipolmat died before he could bring his plan to fruition. With his death his nephew, Richardville, assumed the mantle of principal chief of the Miami and sometime thereafter had a residence built at the forks of the Wabash, which became the seat of Miami government in 1831 (Anson 1970:193). This is perhaps further evidence that the forks of the Wabash village had indeed been the home of Pacane prior to the War of 1812. Unlike its predecessor, the post-war forks of the Wabash Miami village seems to have been concentrated at the forks proper and not spread along the banks of the Wabash. Two maps from the early decades of the 19th century show the location of the rebuilt forks of the Wabash village. In 1824 John Tipton, a veteran of the Tippecanoe campaign, was the United States Indian Agent for the Fort Wayne Agency. In that year the Commisioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas L. McKenney, asked that all agents submit a survey denoting the location, population and identity of all the Indian villages within their agency (Tucker 1942:15). Tipton's 1824 map complying with McKenney's orders shows the forks of the Wabash village (Figure 16). Tipton recorded the population of the village as being only fifty, though that may refer to only adult males. Four years later Chauncey Carter surveyed the Reserve of Ten Sections, which was granted to the Miami at the 1826 treaty held at the mouth

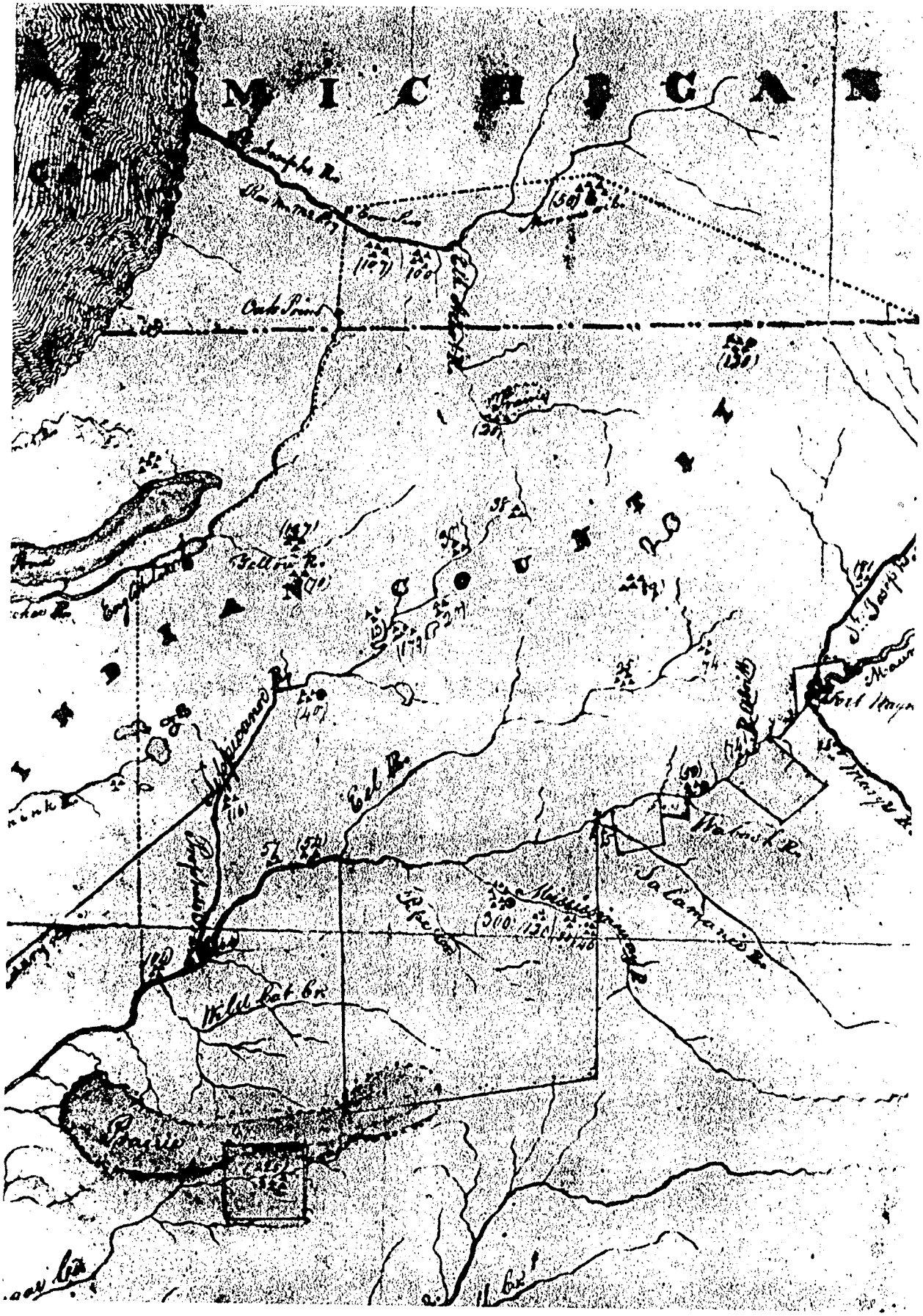


Figure 16. Tipton's Map of 1824 (Tucker 1942).

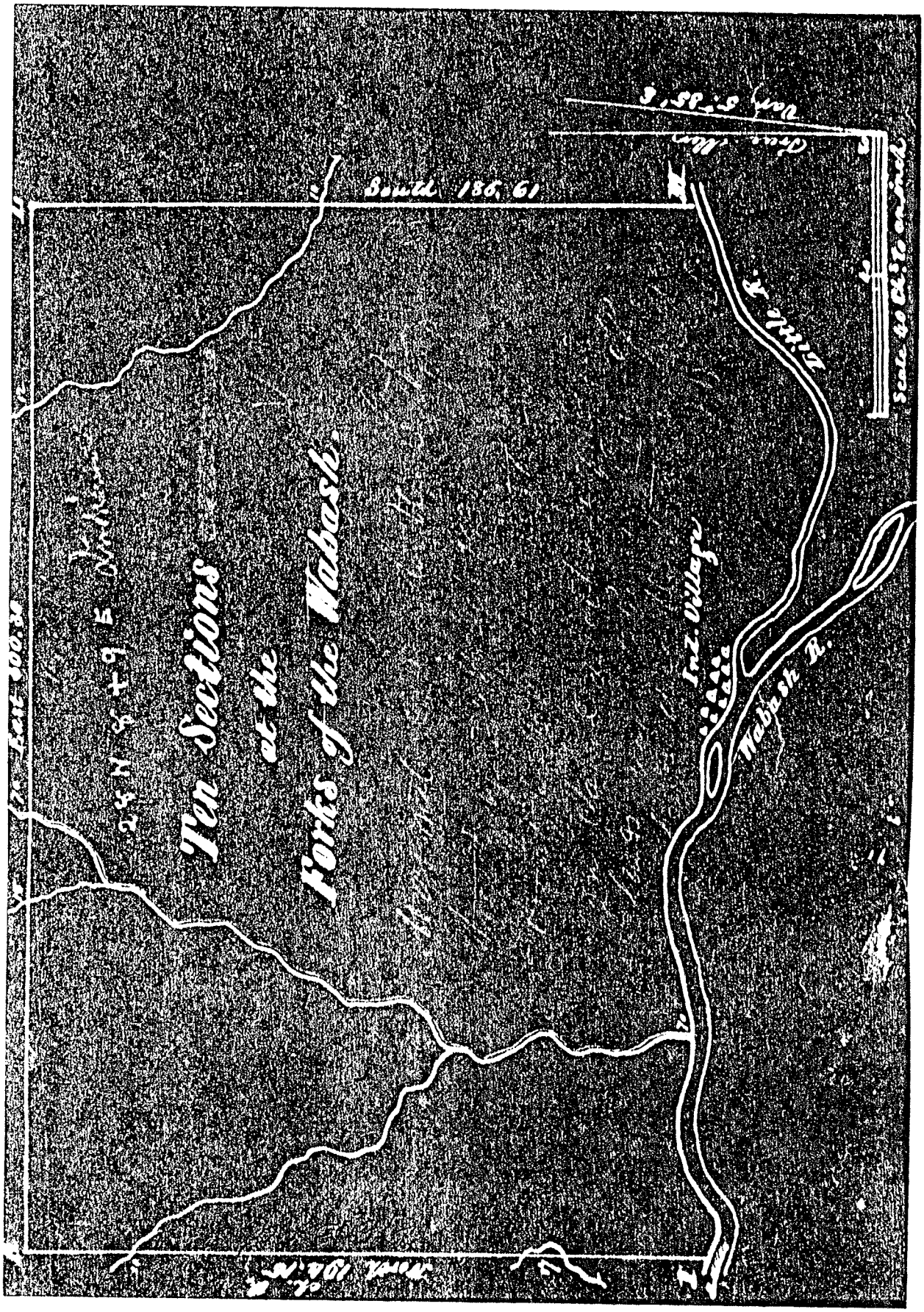


Figure 17. Chauncey Carter's 1828 Map of the Reserve of Ten Sections (Huntington County Surveyor's Office).

of the Mississinewa River (Kappler 1972:278-281). The Reserve of Ten Sections included the forks of the Wabash Miami village and Carter shows it as being situated in the northwest corner of the confluence of the Little and Wabash rivers (Figure 17). If Carter's representation of the village is accurate, the village stretched a little less than a quarter of a mile down river from the forks, unlike the pre-war Miami settlement at the forks, which may have stretched for as much as four miles down river from the forks.

The history of the post-war forks of the Wabash Miami village is beyond the scope of the current project. Suffice it to say that as the number of Anglo-Americans increased in the upper Wabash valley so too does the number of documented accounts of the Miami living at the forks of the Wabash, making the history of the village more readily accessible for the post 1814 years. General accounts can be found in Anson (1970:177-303), Glenn (1991b:70-74), Leonard (1991a:75-88) and Leonard (1991b:89-114). Primary sources with information concerning the later history of the forks of the Wabash village include The Tipton Papers (Robertson and Riker 1942) and History of the Baptist Indian Missions (McCoy 1840). Useful articles include Riker (1941) and Robertson (1943).

When the Miami returned to the forks of the Wabash following the War of 1812, much of the pre-war settlement remained abandoned. In 1812 Darnell noted that "an elegant coat of blue grass" covered "where the timber has been cut" about the edges of the settlements (Darnell 1978:13). The burned out remains of the abandoned huts and cabins were probably quickly obscured by this "blue grass" and later by other field colonizing plants such as brambles (see Chaper 10). By the 1830s the tangled fields of grass and brambles which once contained the homes and corn fields of the Miami were once more the scene of intense human activity. The fertile Wabash valley had become home to thousands of American settlers whose livelihood depended on the crops they grew in the fields. Getting these crops to outside markets was of paramount importance and talk of a canal linking the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico had been circulating since the War of 1812 (see McAfee 1816:127). The Wabash and Erie Canal was on the verge of becoming a reality by the year 1837. For in that year the section of the canal between the towns of Huntington and Wabash was completed. Closely paralleling the Wabash River through this section, the channel of the canal was thirty feet wide and six feet deep (Castadi 1991:145). The excavation of this channel was a monumental effort:

> The canal was one of the great engineering feats of modern times, constructed using axe, saw, pick, spade, auger, chisel, hammer, hand forge, hand drill, gun powder, wheel barrows, carts and wagons. Power employed was man power and that of horse and ox...
>
> Laborers, who were called "navies" and who were mainly Irish immigrants, were hired to dig the canal through the swamp and wilderness...Working conditions were difficult. The men were plagued by dysentary, cholera and malaria...To help the workers keep their minds off their hardships, a man called a jiggerboss moved among the crowd of laborers. His job was to supply jiggers of whiskey to the thirsty navies [Castaldi 1991:145].

The massive amounts of earth excavated to create the canal ditch were mounded up along both sides to construct the berm on the north side of the canal, and the tow path on the south side. As the navies worked their way from Huntington toward the town of Wabash, the earth they removed from the canal ditch and the clay used to construct the tow path was fortuitiously placed directly over top of the remains of the razed Miami settlements. This thick cap of hard red clay, compacted by the decades of mule and horse traffic, which tugged the canal packet boats up and down the still-water of the canal channel, preserved these remains essentially as they had been left following their destruction in 1812.

The canal, too, was destined to be abandoned as railroads soon provided quicker and cheaper transportation. In 1870 the Huntington to Wabash section of the canal was abandoned and portions of the tow path soon were incorporated into agricultural fields. The thickness of the tow path, however, continued to provide protection for the cultural resources unwittingly buried beneath it.

Chapter 6. Field Investigations

Phase III archaeological investigation of site 12-Hu-1022 commenced on September 13, 1994 and ended on December 20, 1994. Following the mechanical stripping and shovel scraping of Excavation Blocks A, B and C (see Figure 3 Site Plan View Map), ten subsurface features were encountered and defined. Of the ten, seven were determined to be cultural (Table 1). Non-cultural features--Features 1, 3 and 4--at the site were found to be the result of tree and/or stump removal by either natural or man-made forces.

Table 1. 12-Hu-1022 Feature Designations.

Feature #	Affiliation	Feature Type
Feature 1	Non-cultural	-
Feature 2	Cultural	Storage Pit
Feature 3	Non-cultural	-
Feature 4	Non-cultural	-
Feature 5	Cultural	Midden Deposit
Feature 6	Cultural	Midden
Feature 7	Cultural	Hearth
Feature 8	Cultural	Midden Deposit
Feature 9	Cultural	Midden
Feature 10	Cultural	Refuse Pit

Features 1-6 and Feature 10 were found in Excavation Block A (Figure 3 and Figure 18).

Feature 2

Feature 2 was first defined in Unit 26N 13E. It was a roughly circular, rather deep, basin-shaped pit. Within Unit 26N-13E, the only portion of the feature excavated, Feature 2 measured 132 cm east-west by 85 cm north-south by 76 cm deep (Figures 19 and 20). The top of the feature appeared to have sustained some damage as the result of plowing at the site, but beneath the plow scar the feature fill was rather homogeneous. It consisted of 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown silt loam with moderate to dense amounts of charcoal flecking throughout the fill. A lens of ash (10 YR 6/3 pale brown) was encountered near the base of the feature. A small amount of lithic debitage was recovered from the feature (Appendix B). Lithic debitage was ubiquitous across the site and not a good indicator of cultural affiliation. This issue will be addressed in the next chapter. Faunal remains were poorly represented (see Chapter 8). Flotation of 30 liters of fill from Feature 2 turned up a variety of charred botanical remains (see Chapter 9) including four *Zea Mays* cob fragments, the only context from which cob fragments were recovered.

Feature 2 is interpreted as a storage pit, used by the Miami occupants of the site to cache corn and other vegetables. Early in the 18th century Pierre Charlevoix described Miami storage pits:

> Their corn and other fruits are preserved in repositories which they dig in the ground, and which are lined with large pieces of bark...when they apprehend some irruption of the enemy, they make great concealments under ground, where these sorts of grain are exceedingly well preserved [Kinietz 1940:174].

Denny noted in 1790 the presence of buried stores of provisions at Kekionga and twelve years earlier the inhabitants of Kekionga were noted to have "hid (presumably buried) their Stores (of Food) in the woods" (Denny 1860:349; Barnhart 1951:114). Darnell made mention of the "roasting ears" he and the other American soldiers ate while encamped at the forks of the Wabash village, though it is unclear whether it came from the standing crop or from storage pits (Darnell 1978:12-13). Buried stores of corn were likely plundered by the soldiers, their contents either eaten or destroyed by burning. This would account for the scarcity of cob remains in the pit and perhaps for the ash lens at the bottom. Following the abandonment and destruction of the site in September 1812, fill from the surrounding midden likely washed into the nearly empty pit, filling it prior to the construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal.

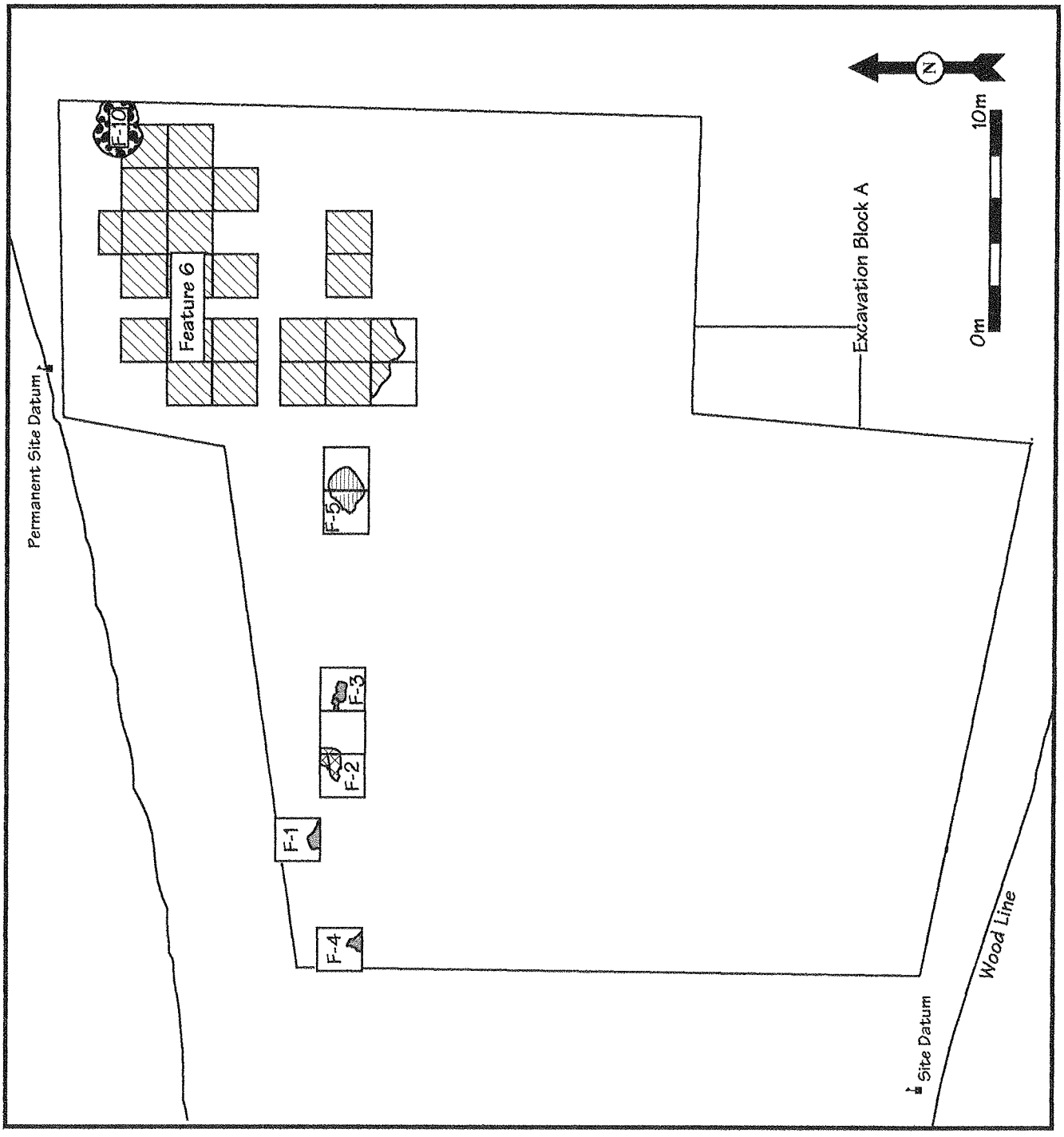


Figure 18. Plan View Map of Excavation Block A showing Features 1-6 and Feature 10.

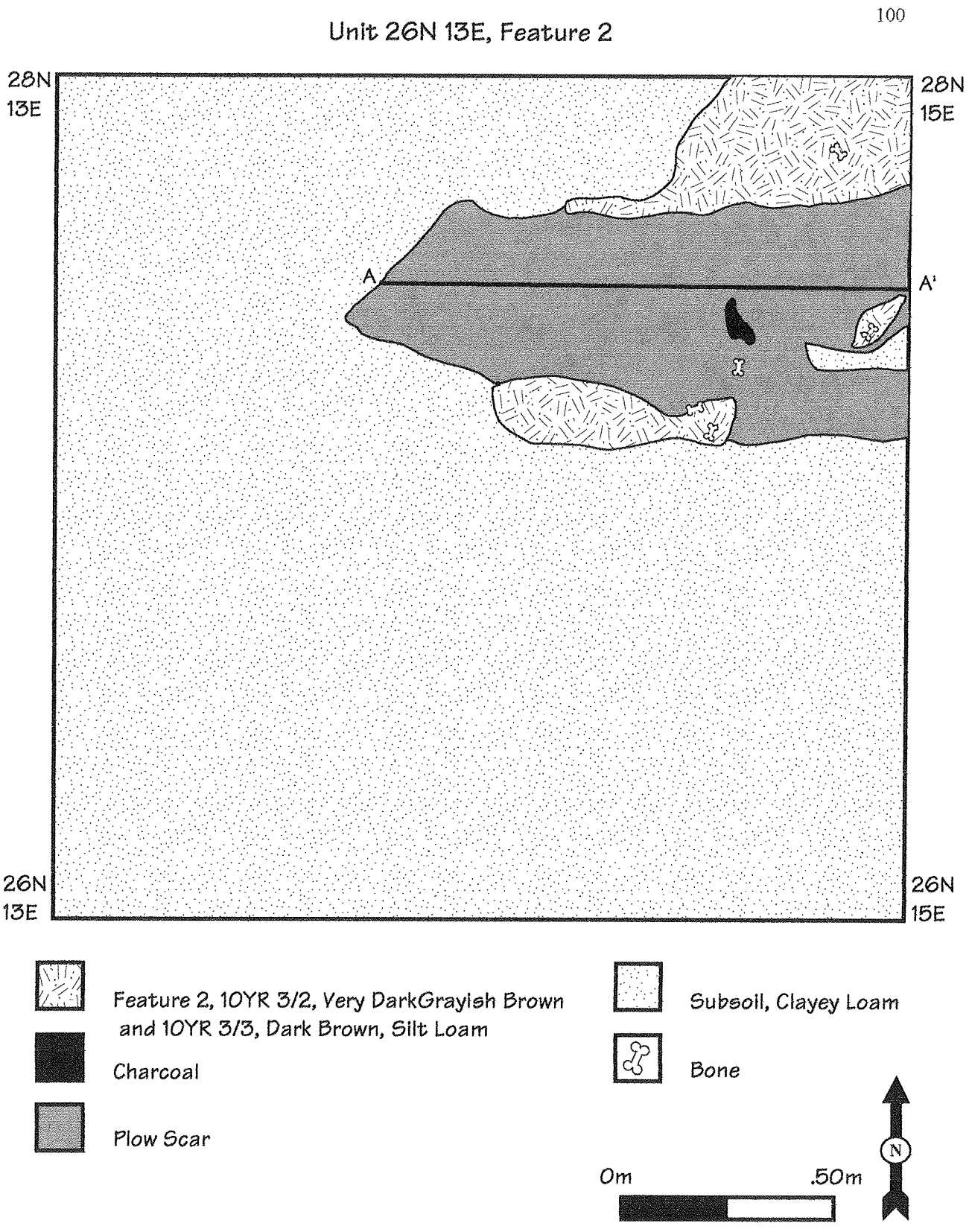


Figure 19. Plan View Map of Unit 26N 13E Showing Feature 2.

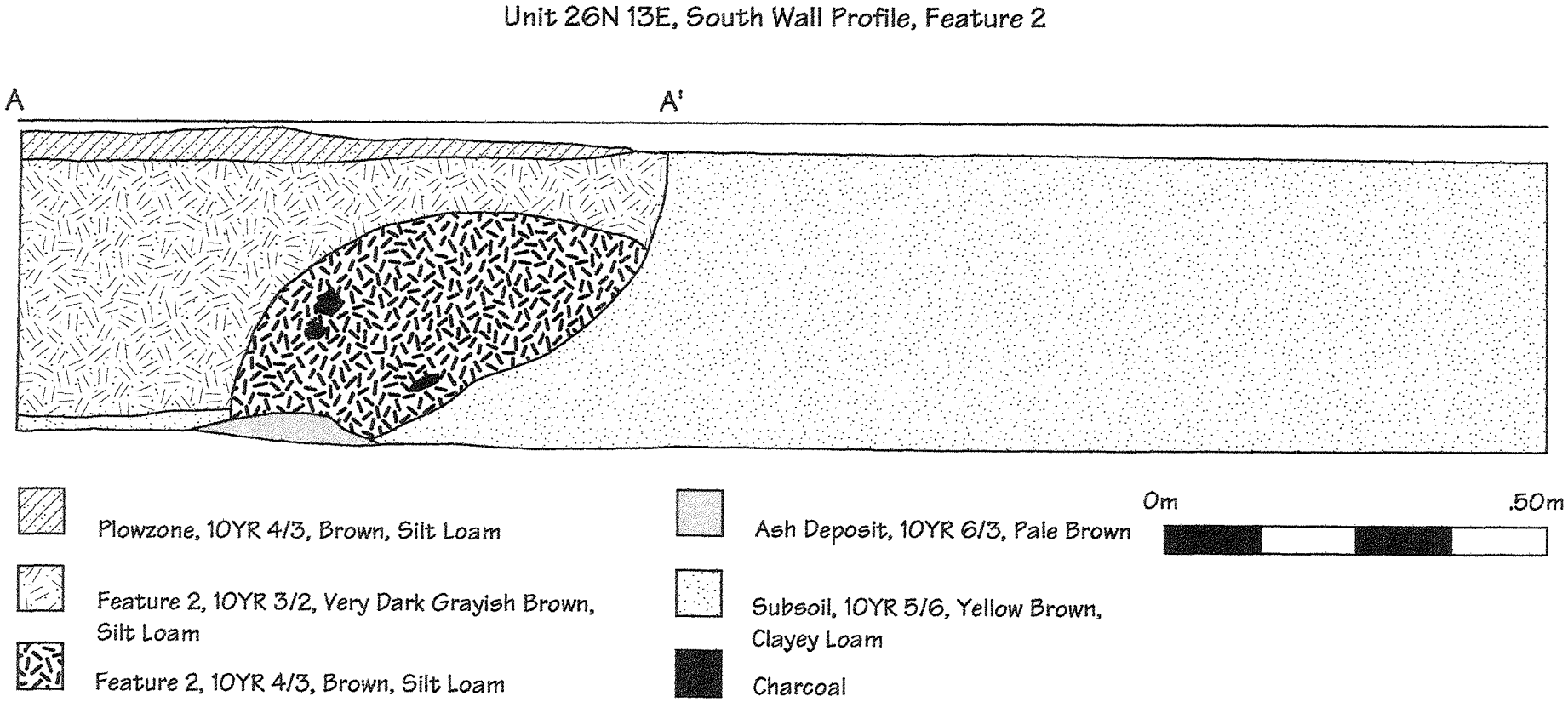


Figure 20. South Wall Profile of Unit 26N 13E Showing Feature 2.

Feature 5

Feature 5 was discovered in Excavation Block A, Units 26N 25E and 26N 27E. It was a roughly circular, very thin lens of dark (10 YR 3/2) silt loam (Figures 21and 22). The feature fill was flecked with moderate amounts of carbon. Feature 5 measured 2.08 m east-west by 1.56 m north-south and was only 8 cm deep at its thickest point. Cultural material recovered from this feature included a small number of chert flakes and two white glass seed beads (Appendix B). Feature 5 is interpreted as a small midden deposit that may have filled in a natural depression just deep enough to protect it from being completely plowed away. That it is associated with the 19th century Miami occupation of the site is confirmed by the presence of the two seed beads recovered from a flotation sample taken from the feature fill. For all practical purposes, Feature 5 can be considered to be a part of the same depositional processes that created Feature 6.

Feature 6

Feature 6 was uncovered in 23.5 of the 35.5 2x2 meter units excavated at the site. It expanded over approximately 85.63 square meters and contained at least three discrete sub-features (Area A - a small hearth, Area B - a dolomite pad encircling Area C - a large hearth) as well as the charred remains of what appear to be structural timbers and associated concentrations of burned or fire reddened soil (Figure 23). Feature 6 was initially discovered during the Phase II testing of the site conducted by ARMS in 1992 (Zoll 1992). The ARMS backhoe trenches and a 1x1 meter square excavation unit used to define and explore the feature were subsequently uncovered during the Phase III excavation of Feature 6 (see Figure 23 Feature 6 Plan View Map). It was during Phase III excavations that the unique manner in which the site had been preserved was revealed.

Between 1835 and 1837 the Huntington to Wabash section of the Wabash and Erie Canal was under construction. The excavation of the canal ditch created massive earthen embankments on either side of the canal ditch. The embankment on the north edge of the canal--the canal runs roughly northeast - southwest through Huntington County--is known as the canal berm. The embankment on the opposite side--the south side--is the tow path (Figure 24). As the name suggests, the tow path was the road used by the

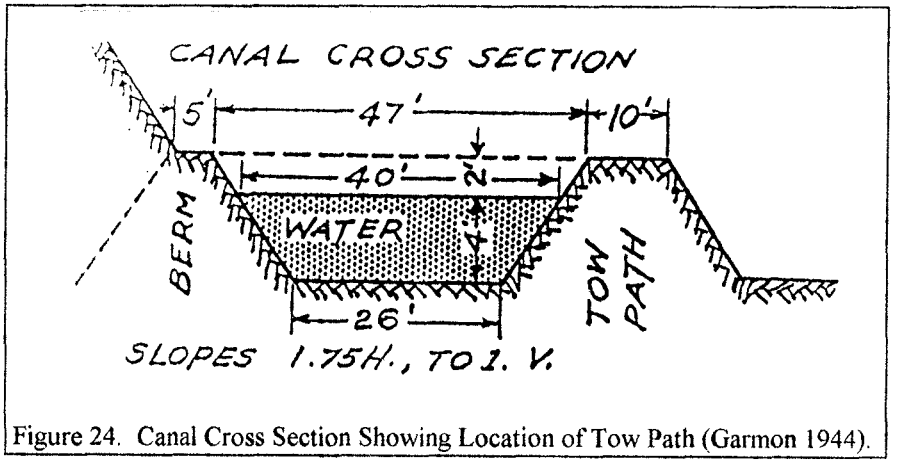


Figure 24. Canal Cross Section Showing Location of Tow Path (Garmon 1944).

mule and horse teams which tugged the packet boats up and down the still-water of the canal channel. A flat, compact surface that would not wash away at every down pour of rain was needed. To accomplish this, the tow path was very deliberately constructed of clay taken from the canal ditch. The carefully laid down and compacted clay that formed the base of the tow path provided a protective cap for the cultural resources unwittingly buried beneath it. During the Phase III excavation at the site the tow path was generally considered part of the overburden on the site and as such was, for the most part, stripped off by means of the backhoe. However, over portions of Feature 6, the tow path was manually removed during hand excavation of units. Profiles of these units schematically depict the stratigraphic relationship between the base of the modern plowzone, the tow path and Feature 6 (Figures 25 and 26).

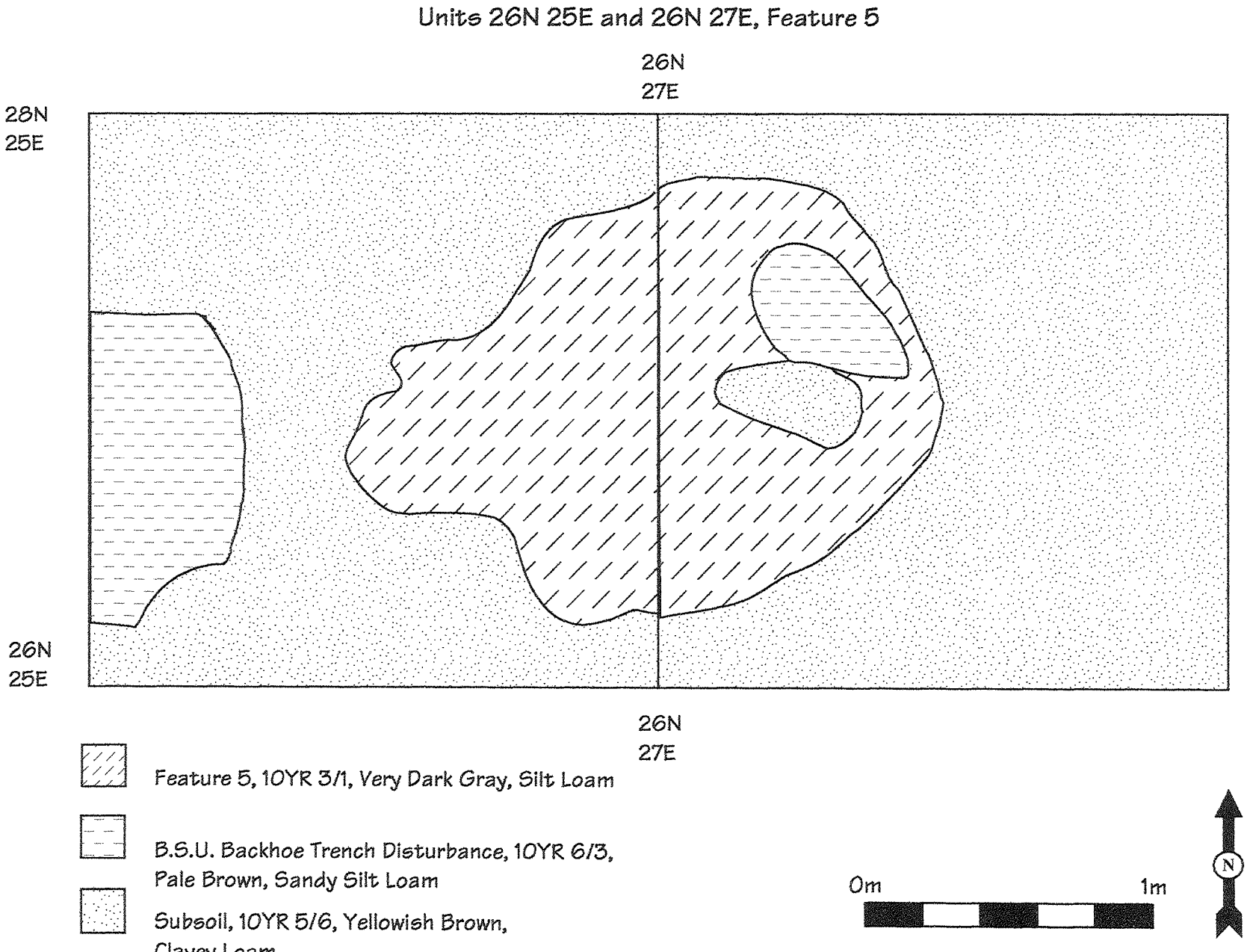


Figure 21. Plan View of Units 26N 25E and 26N 27E Showing Feature 5.

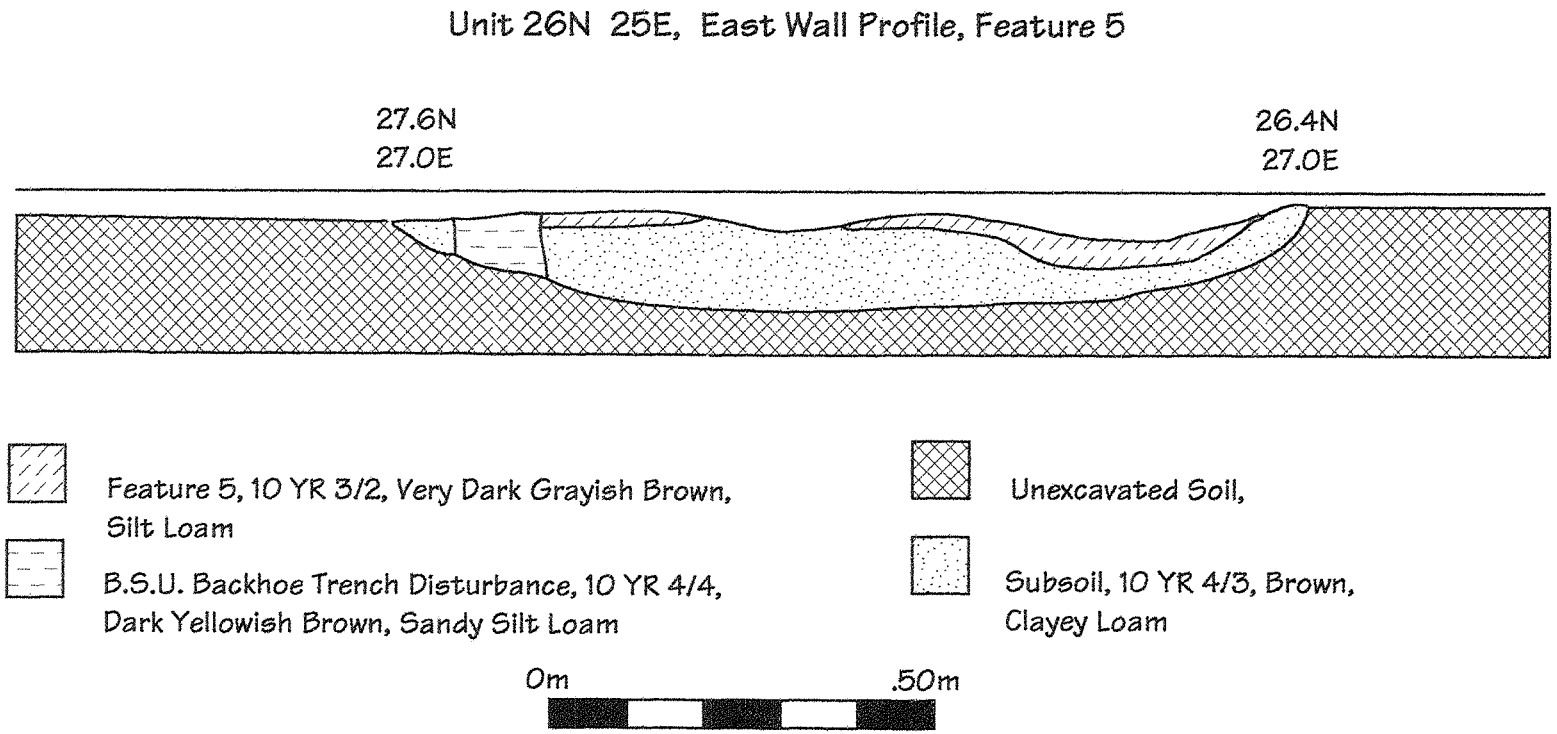


Figure 22. East Wall Profile of Unit 26N 25E Showing Feature 5.

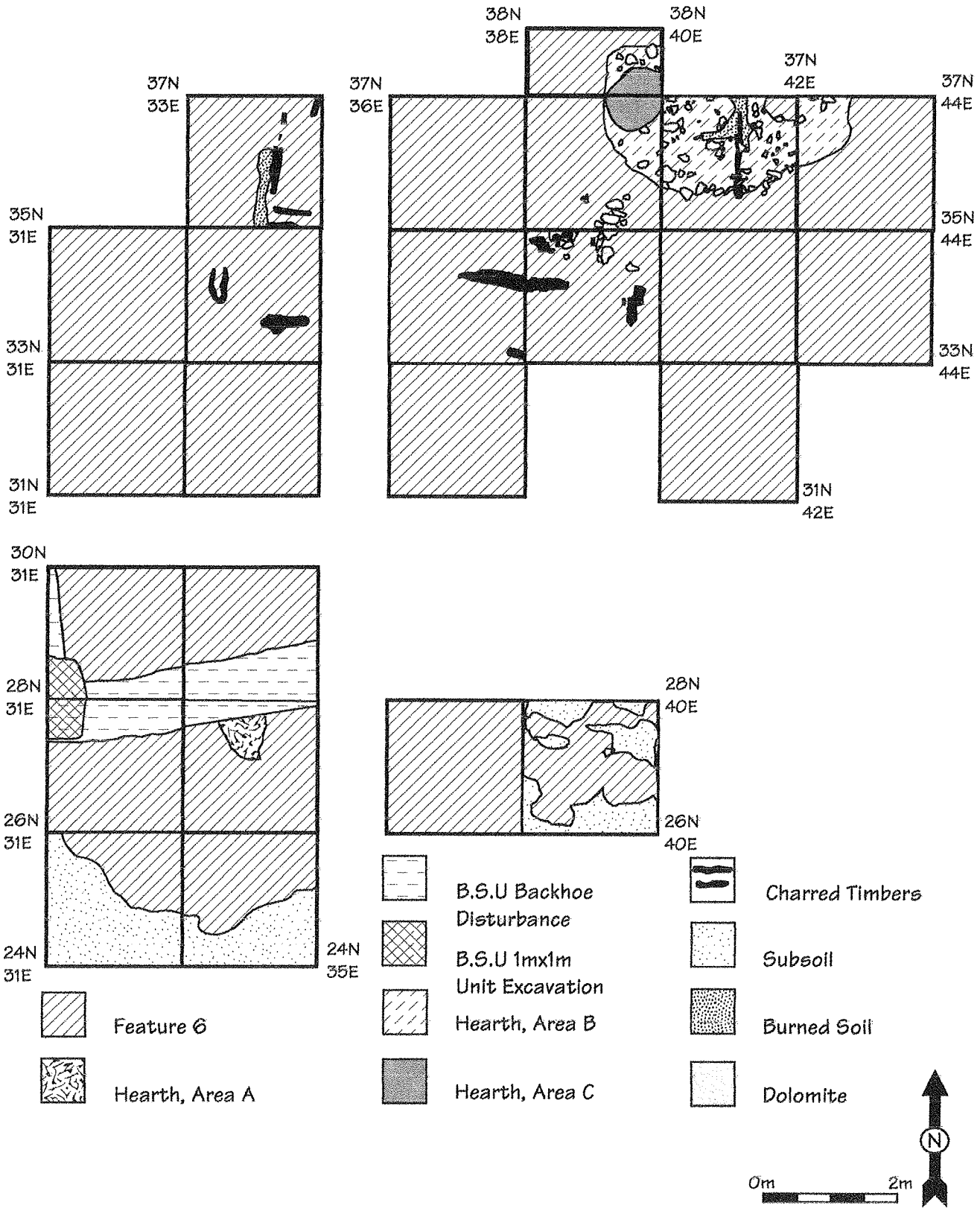


Figure 23. Plan View Map of Feature 6 Showing Hearth Areas A, B and C, Charred Timbers and Associated Concentrations of Burned or Reddened Soil.

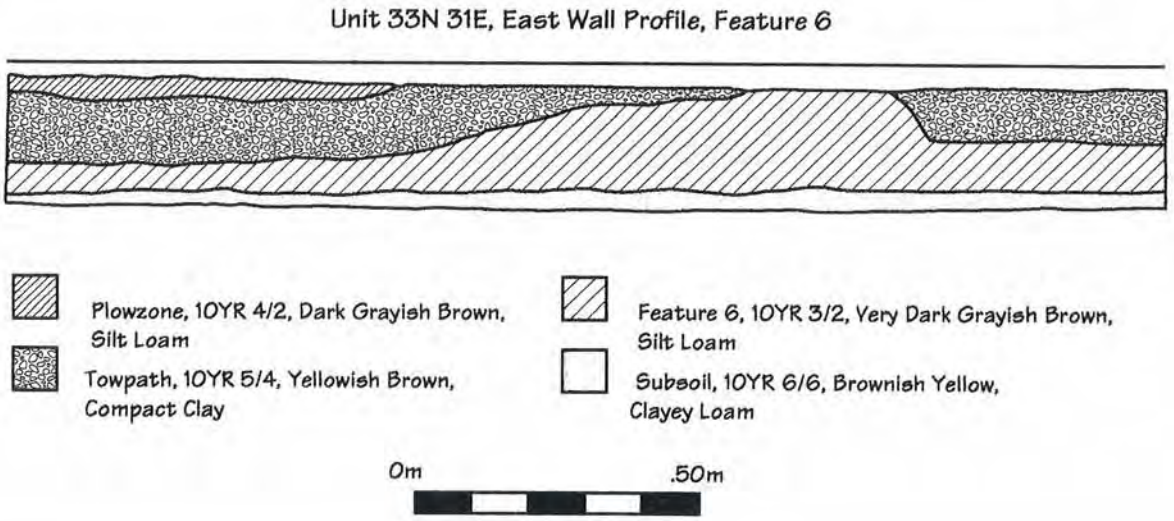


Figure 25. East Profile Map of Unit 33N 31E Depicting the Stratigraphic relationship between the Base of the Modern Plow Zone, the Tow Path and Feature 6.

Figure 26. Photograph of West Wall Profile of 31N 40E Depicting the Stratigraphic Relationship between the Base of the Modern Plow Zone, the Tow Path and Feature 6.

Feature 6 is an organically rich, artifact bearing layer of mostly 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown silt loam (Figure 27). Not unexpectedly, the feature is flecked with moderate to dense amounts of wood

Figure 27. Plan View Photograph of Unit 33N 40E Showing Feature 6.

charcoal. The feature was not of uniform thickness across the site (Figure28). Figure 29 shows representative east wall profiles of excavation units containing Feature 6, which illustrate the thickness of the feature from its southern edge to the northern most limits of excavation. It ranges in thickness from approximately 11 cm near its southern edge to a maximum thickness of between 20 and 25 cm to between 8 and 10 cm at the northern limits of excavation (Figure 29). Likewise the thickness of Feature 6 varied from west to east across the site. Representative north wall profiles, from west to east across the site, are illustrated in Figure 30.

As previously mentioned, Feature 6 is an artifact bearing cultural deposit. In fact, it contained the widest array and quantity of cultural materials recovered on the site. Faunal remains, mostly in the form of mammalian bone and teeth, were by far the most numerous artifacts collected during Phase III fieldwork. Table 2 provides a summary of the material culture culled from the excavation of Feature 6.

Table 2. Summary of Feature 6 Artifacts.

Artifact Types	Functional Group	Material
Beads	Adornment	Glass
Brooches	Adornment	Silver
Tinkling Cones	Adornment	Tin
Ear Bobs	Adornment	Silver
Perforated Disk	Adornment	Pewter
Finger Ring	Adornment	Silver
Triangular Pendants	Adornment	Tin
Triangular Pendants	Adornment	Copper/Brass
Hawk Bell	Adornment	Copper/Brass
Bracelet	Adornment	Copper/Brass
Tack	Adornment	Brass
Gunflints	Arms Related	Stone
Gunflint Flakes	Arms Related	Stone
Lead Balls	Arms Related	Lead
Lead Shot	Arms Related	Lead

Figure 28. Profiles of Units 31N 33E, 33N 40E and 33N 38E Showing Thickness of Feature 6.

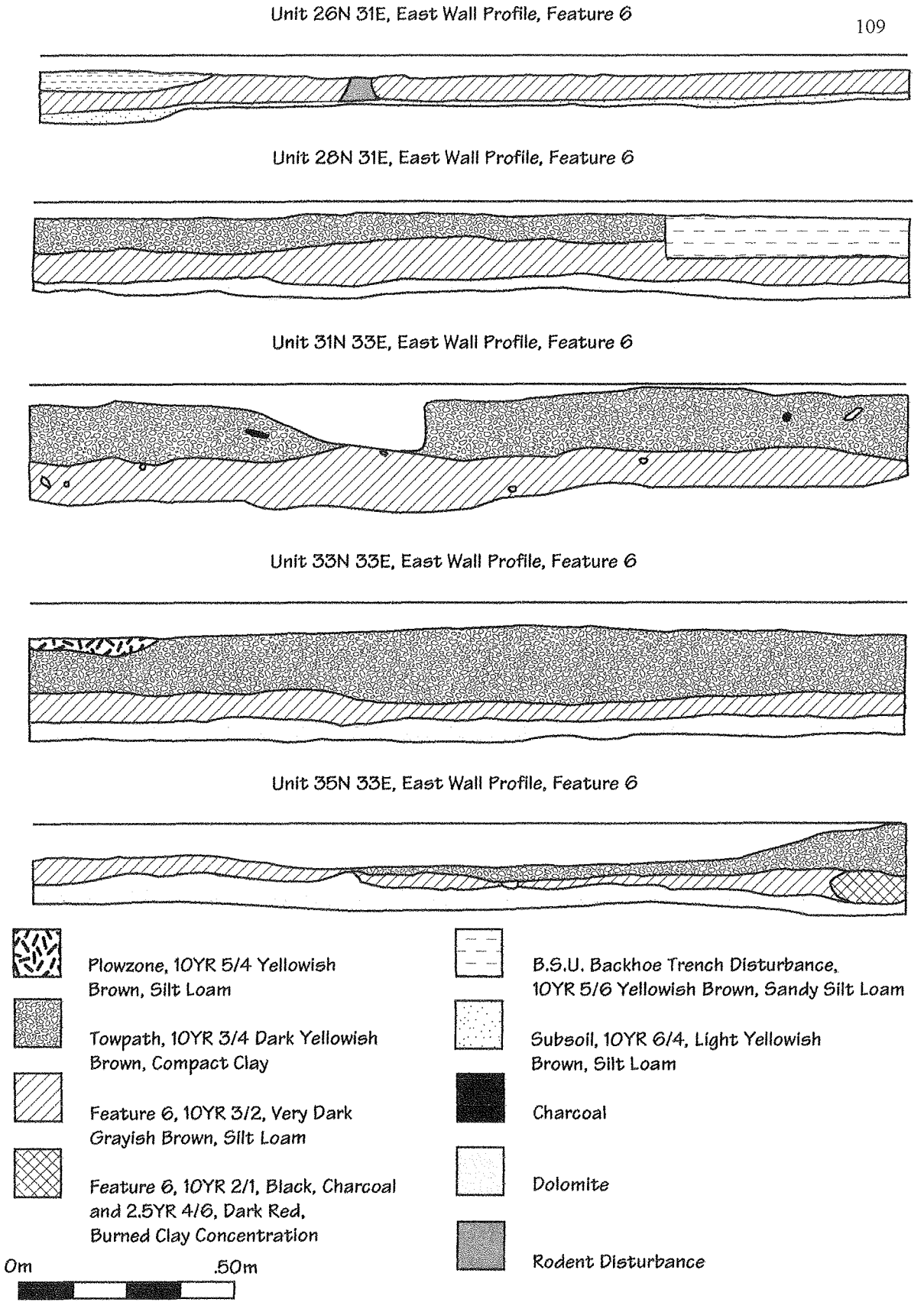


Figure 29. East Wall Profiles Showing Thickness of Feature 6.

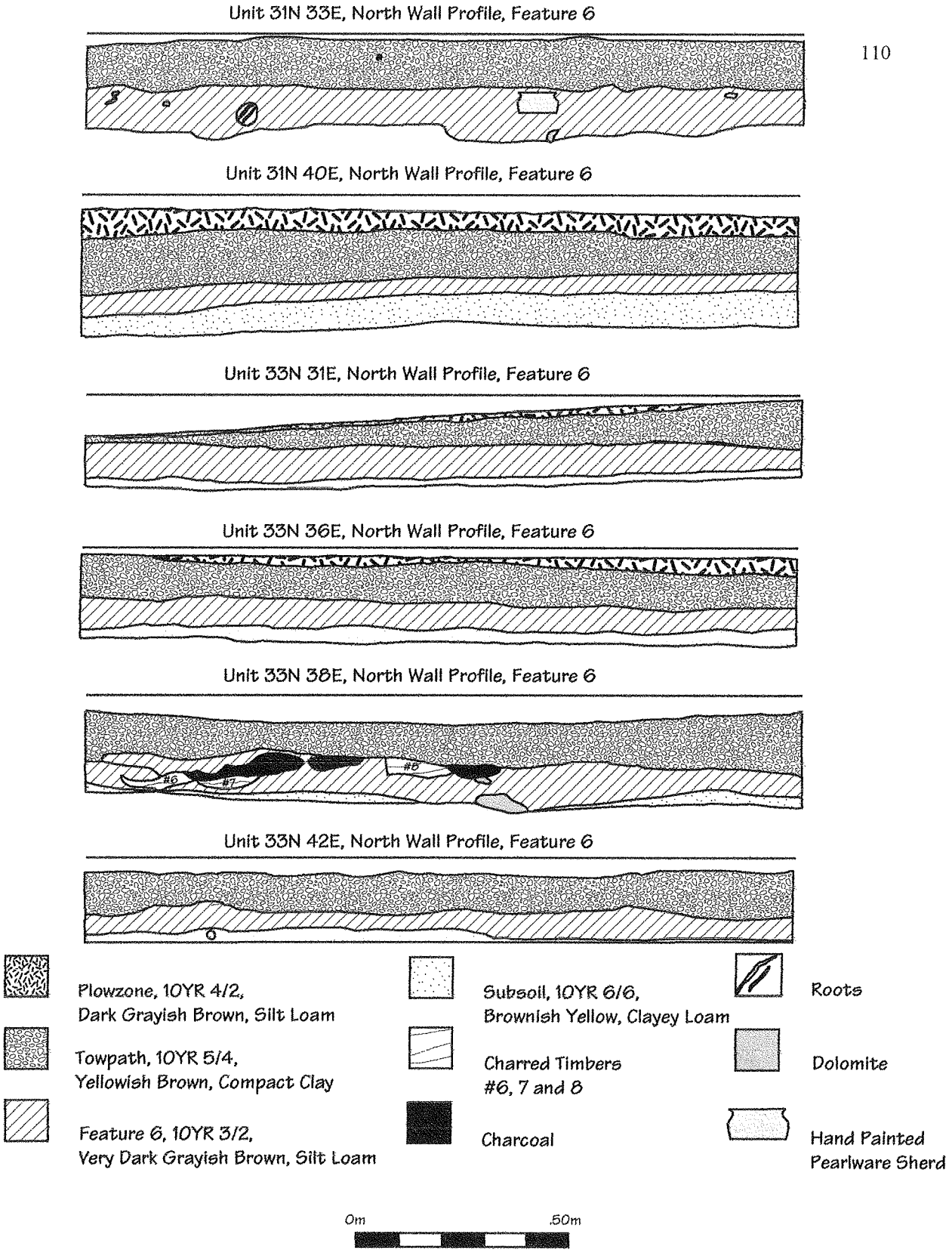


Figure 30. North Wall Profiles Showing Thickness of Feature 6.

Table 2. Summary of Feature 6 Artifacts cont.		
Lead Sprue	Arms Related	Lead
Lead Spillage	Arms Related	Lead
Pipes	Tobacco Use	White Clay
Moravian Pipes	Tobacco Use	Clay
Button	Clothing	Copper/Brass
Needle	Clothing	Iron
Straight Pins	Clothing	Copper/Brass
Scissors	Clothing	Iron
Euro-american Ceramics	Food Preparation and Consumption	Clay
Vessel Glass	Food Preparation and Consumption	Glass
Knives	Food Preparation and Consumption	Iron
Cup Handle	Food Preparation and Consumption	Tin
Kettle Bail	Food Preparation and Consumption	Iron
3-Sided File	Maintenance	Iron
Silver Scraps	Metal Working	Silver
Tin Scraps	Metal Working	Tin
Brass Scraps	Metal Working	Copper/Brass
Nails	Structural	Iron
Flat Glass	Personal	Glass

The foregoing is not a complete list of the material culture found in Feature 6, but rather a list of the most diagnostic items recovered. Unidentified or ambiguous artifacts are not listed (see Appendix B).

During the excavation of Feature 6, three discrete areas indicative of human activity were found in direct association with the feature. These activity areas were designated Area A, Area B and Area C:

Area A - This small oval shaped soil anomaly was defined in unit 26N 33E within the matrix of Feature 6. At the point of definition the matrix of Area A was an ashy silt loam (7.5 YR 7/1) with some charcoal flecking (Figure 31). This quickly gave way to a fire reddened and burned clay matrix with moderate to dense amounts of charcoal and some ash (Figures 31 and 32). The northern portion of Area A had been previously disturbed during Phase II testing of the site, but was found to be partially intact below the disturbance, as was Feature 6 (Figure 33). It should be noted here that only a very small remnant of Area A was found beneath the backhoe trench disturbance in the next unit north, 28N 33E. Overall, Area A measured 68 cm east-west by 95 cm north-south. The southern edge of the backhoe trench disturbance provided a convenient point to bisect and profile Area A. This profile revealed Area A to be a shallow, roughly 8 cm thick, flat bottomed basin containing fire reddened and burned soil, ash, carbon flecking and small pieces of dolomite. It had been excavated into the subsoil and was partially masked by Feature 6, indicating that it had been used and abandoned long before the abandonment of the site (Figure 34).

All fill from Area A in unit 26N 33E was removed and saved for flotation. A small amount of burned bone was recovered during the removal of the fill. Flotation of the fill from Area A turned up some chert debitage, three small fragments of lead spillage, probably from the production of lead balls and shot, and a single white glass seed bead (Appendix B). Additional faunal remains were also recovered from the flotation of the fill (see Chapter 8). Identifiable charred botanical remains were limited to a minuscule amount of maize, bark and wood charcoal (see Chapter 9).

It is evident from the foregoing description that Area A represents a small fire pit or hearth. Its location within Feature 6 indicates that it was well outside of the primary structure associated with this feature. The burned bone is an obvious indicator that cooking was at least one function of this fire pit. Describing an Indian camp in 1837 on Crooked Creek, near present day Logansport, Indiana, artist George Winter wrote in his journal:

> [A] *pot* which was swinging before us upon a *horizontal stick* placed upon two forks at several feets' separation--**which was placed before**

> **every wigwam for the purpose of cooking and putting meat on ...** was under the scrutinizing eye of the young Indian, in which pot he discovered some boiled potatoes and giving a yell he took possession... [Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:91 emphasis added].

Government appointed ethnographer C. C. Trowbridge noted in 1825 that the Miami "have no regular meals, but frequently eat at intervals from morning until night...Generally the whole family commence at the same time to eat, but no one is obliged to wait until the others choose to pronounce the victuals cooked & their appetites ready, for the kettle is at hand. They generally boil their food, being less troublesome than any other mode of preparing it" (1938:66). A small, intense fire such as the one evidenced by Area A would be consistent with such a purpose.

Area B and Area C - These two areas, a concentration of dolomite (Area B) encircling a large hearth (Area C), are considered together. Area B and Area C were uncovered in units 35N 38E, 35N 40E, 35N 42E and 37N 38E (Figure 23). Area B, best defined in units 35N 40E and 35N 42E, consisted of a dense concentration of unmodified dolomite (Figure 35). As noted in Chapter 3 the pink to gray, saccharoidal Huntington dolomite, outcrops in several areas of present day Huntington County, making it an easily accessible and portable resource. The interstices between the chunks of dolomite were filled with the organically rich, 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown silt loam consistent with the surrounding Feature 6 matrix (Figure 37). The remains of two charred timbers were located within the bounds Area B, the largest measuring 1.30 m north-south by ca. 12 cm east-west.

Artifactually, the fill from within Area B was broadly similar to Feature 6 in general. Recovered items include lead spillage, a fragment of sheet lead, possibly for use as a gunflint patch, an expended lead ball and a circular silver brooch fragment (see Appendix B). Faunal materials were recovered from fine screen, flotation and 1/4" mesh screen samples (see Chapter 8). Charred botanical remains recovered both from flotation and 1/4" mesh screen samples include maize, hickory nut shell, plum/cherry seeds (*Prunus spp.)*, bramble and blueberry seeds (see Chapter 9). Prehistoric artifacts included chert debitage and one biface fragment as well as four sherds of very badly eroded prehistoric pottery, the only prehistoric sherds recovered on the site (Appendix B).

Centered in the west end of Area B, in units 35N 38E and 37N 38E, was Area C (Figure 23 -- refers back to Feature 6 Plan View Map). Area C first appeared within the matrix of Feature 6 as a slightly darker, 10 YR 3/3 dark brown sandy silt loam, heavily mottled with 2.5 YR 4/6 dark red burned clay. This soil was removed along with the rest of the Feature 6 matrix, revealing what was then defined as Area C. At the point of definition the matrix of Area C consisted of fire reddened soil (2.5 YR 4/6, Dark Red) and ashy silt loam (2.5 YR 8/1, White), both containing moderate to dense amounts of carbon (Figure 36). Area C extended north into 37N 38E, where it was shown to have a roughly circular shape measuring 82 cm east-west by 95 cm north-south (Figure 38). Area C was bisected along the north wall of unit 35N 38E. The resulting profile revealed Area C to be somewhat deep (20 cm), round bottomed pit exhibiting at least three distinct soil zones (Figure 39). The topmost zone was ca. 8 cm thick and consisted of burned and fire reddened silt loam (2.5 YR 4/6 Dark Red). This overlaid a ca. 4 cm thick zone of 2.5 YR white ashy somewhat compact and very homogenous silt loam. The bottom zone was ca. 8 cm thick and, much like the top zone, consisted of fire reddened and burned soil, in this case a very fine 2.5 YR 5/6 red silt and clay loam. A badly disintegrated charred timber was positioned at the top of and adjacent to the western edge of Area C.

A somewhat surprising array of cultural materials were retrieved from the Area C fill. Three specimens of trade silver, including the cross pin from a small silver brooch and a portion of a silver ear bob, were recovered. Also found within the Area C fill were a single undecorated pearlware sherd, a lead ball and three indeterminate metal fragments. A small number of lithics were likewise recovered (Appendix B). Perhaps not unexpectedly, a fairly substantial amount of faunal material and charred botanical remains--maize, bean/persimmon seed and squash/gourd seeds--were recovered from the Area C fill (see Chapters 8 and 9).

Figure 31 and 32. Plan View Photographs of Unit 26N 33E Showing a Fire Reddened and Burned Clay Matrix with Moderate to Dense Amounts of Charcoal and Ash.

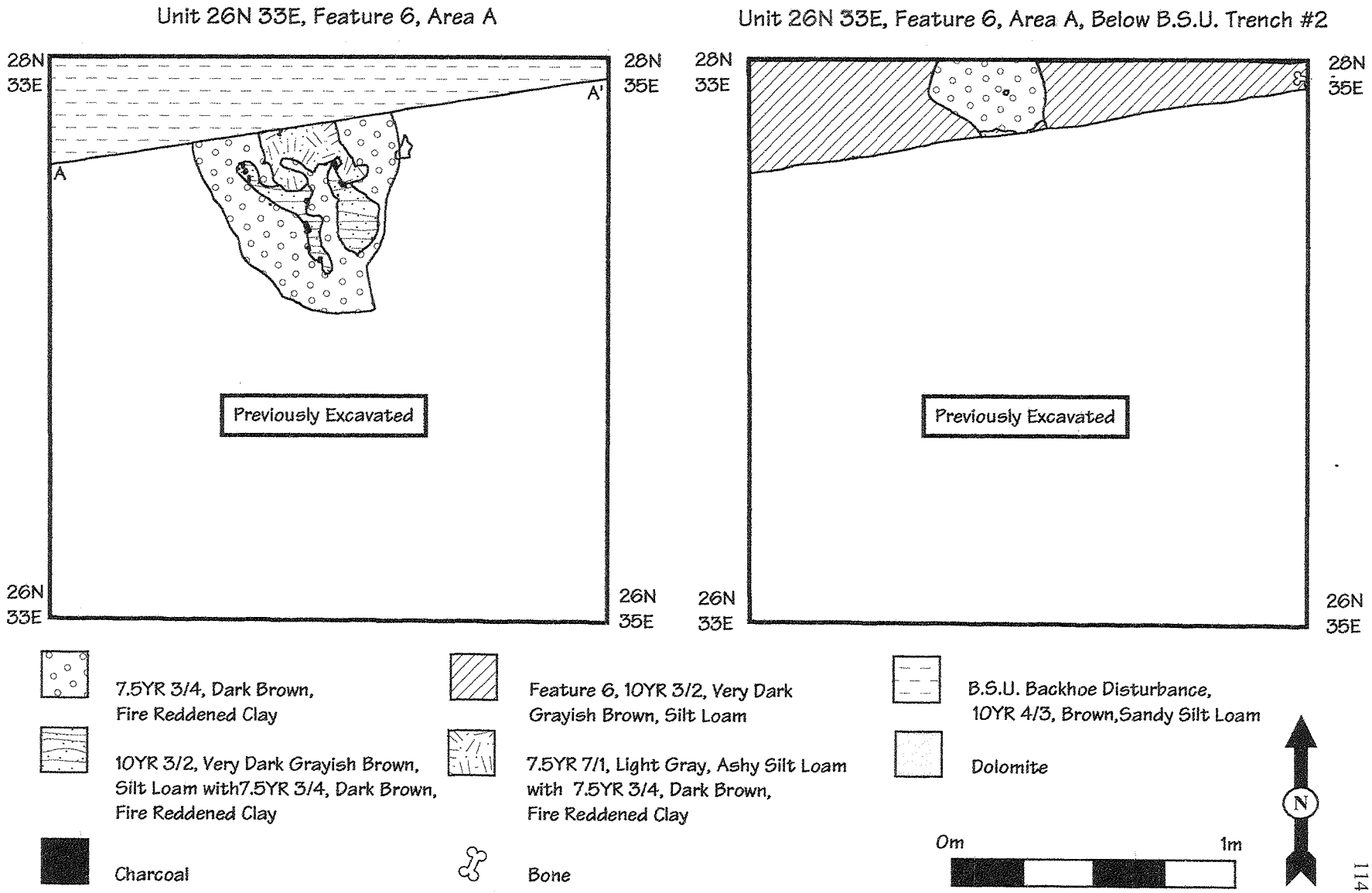


Figure 33. Plan Views of Unit 26N 33E Showing Feature 6, Area A and Feature 6, Area A below B.S.U. Backhoe Trench # 2.

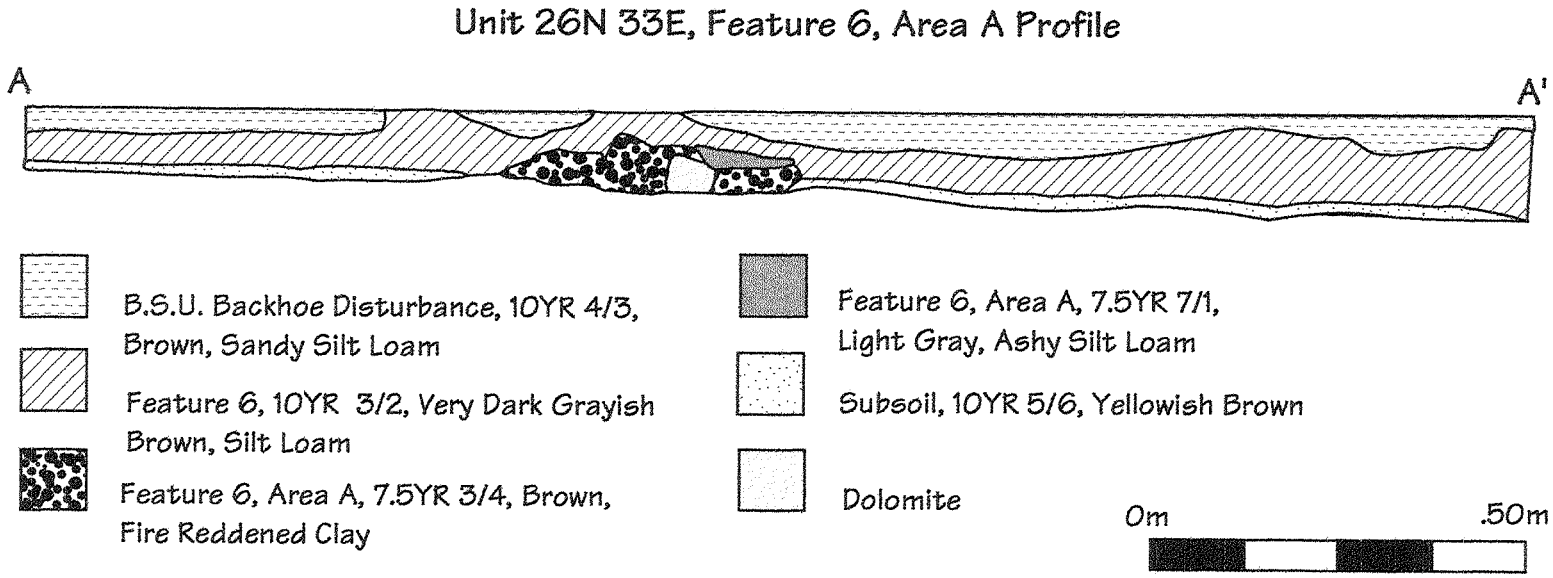


Figure 34. Profile of Unit 26N 33E Showing Feature 6, Area A.

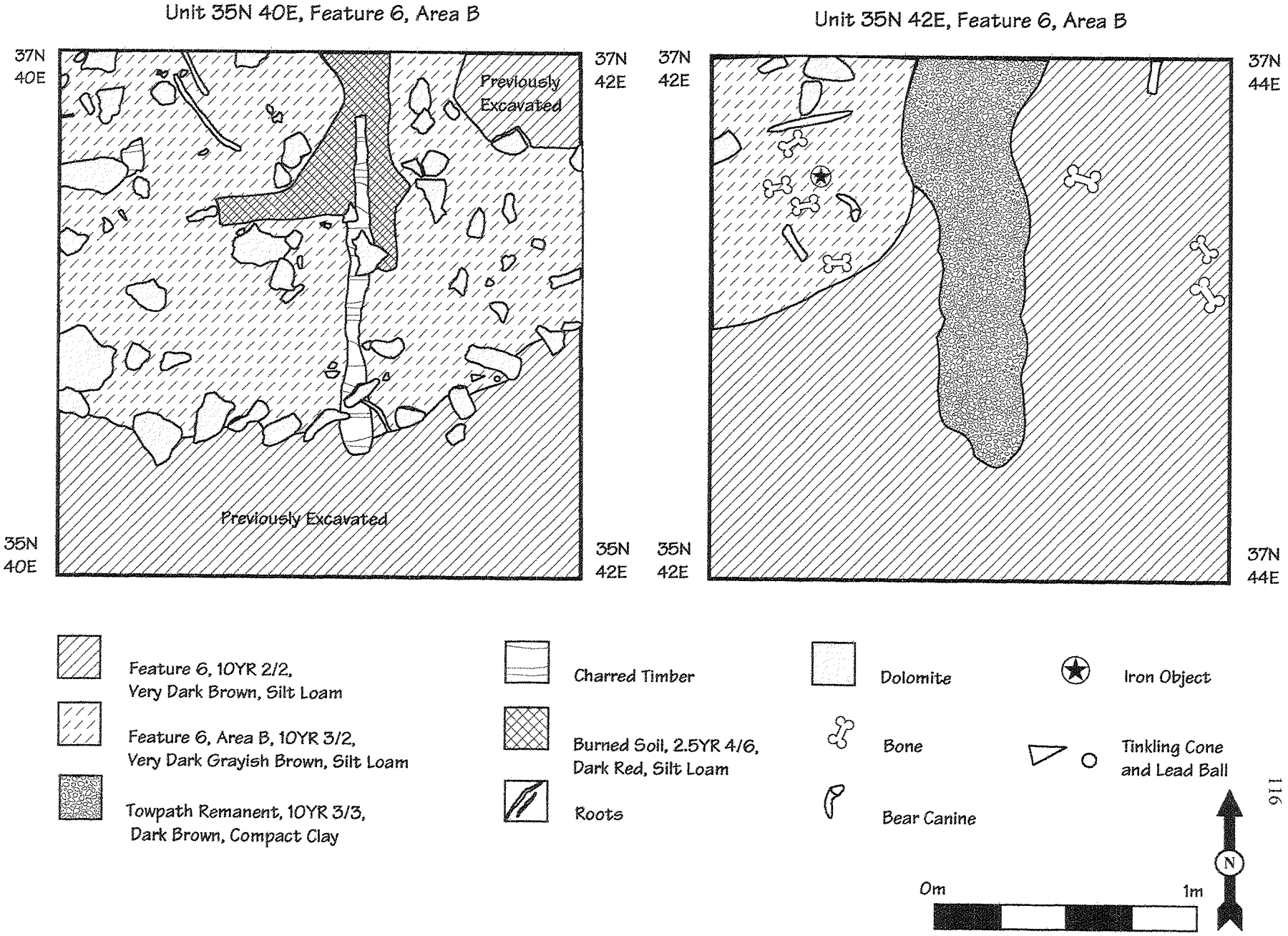


Figure 35. Plan Views of Units 35N 40E an 35N 42E Showing Feature 6, Area B.

Figure 36. Plan View Photograph of Unit 35N 38E Showing Feature 6, Area C.
Figure 37. Plan View Photograph of Unit 35N 30E Showing Feature 6, Area B.

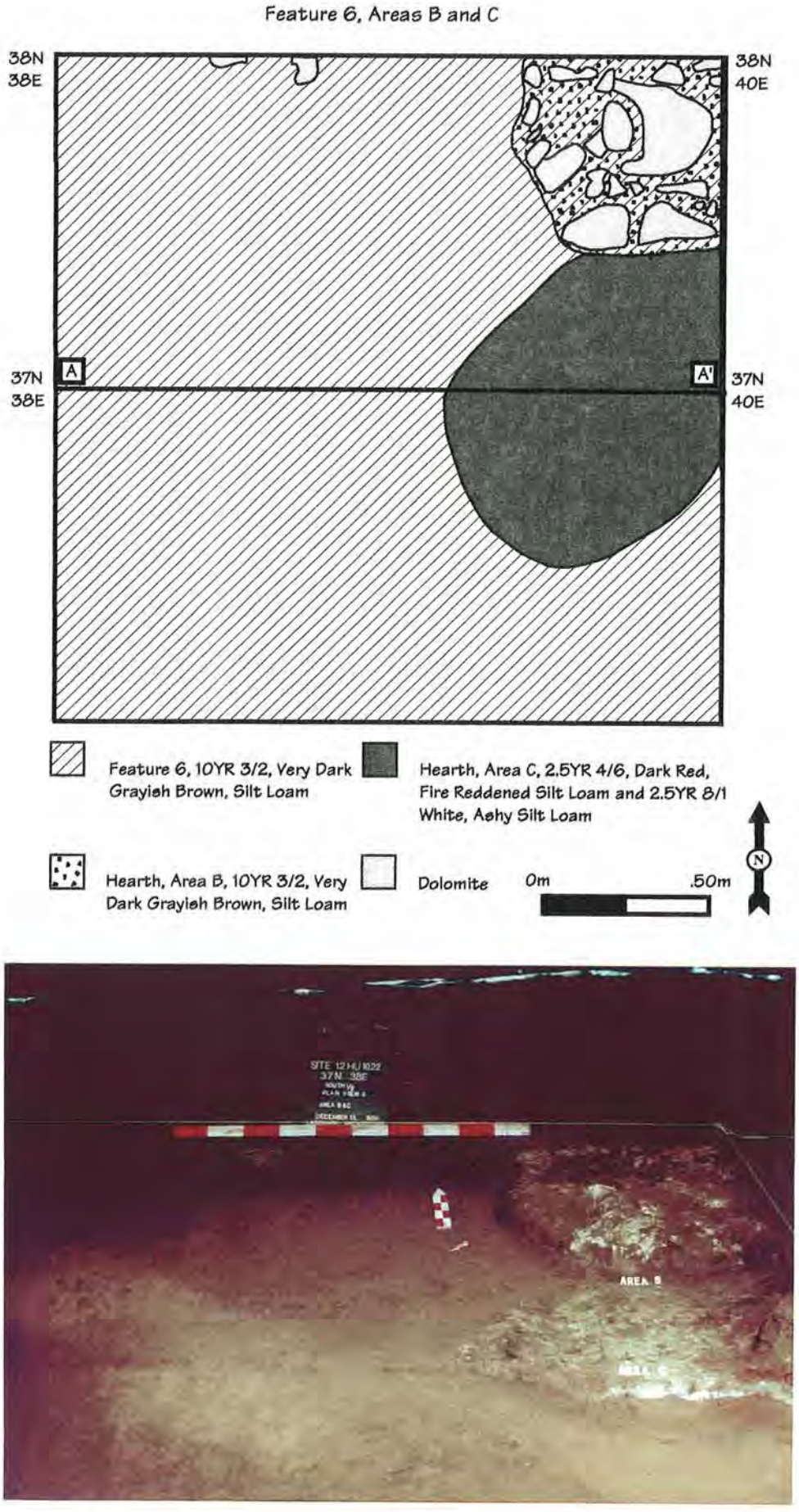


Figure 38. Plan View Map and Photograph of Feature 6, Areas B and C.

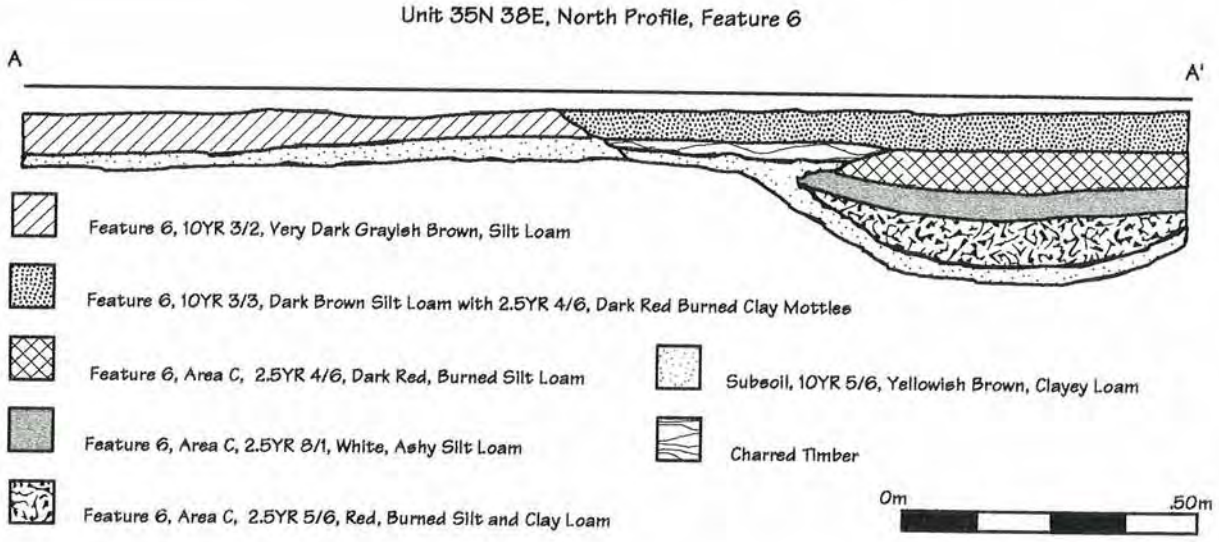


Figure 39. North Wall Profile Map and Photograph of Feature 6, Area C in Unit 35N 38E.

The charred remains of at least 15 timbers were encountered and documented across the matrix of Feature 6 (Figure 23). The largest concentrations of charred timbers were found in units 33N 36E, 33N 38E and 35N 33E (Figure 40). The largest charred timber extended through portions of units 33N 36E and 33N 38E, it measured 1.63 m long by ca. 18 cm wide (Figure 41). Eight of the charred timbers were sufficiently

Figure 41. Photograph of Charred Timber Spanning Units 33N 36E and 33N 38E.

intact to facilitate their removal for further analysis. Species identifications, where possible, and their construction suitability are detailed in Chapter 10. Stratigraphically, the charred timbers were found on top of the Feature 6 matrix and though some settling of the timbers into the Feature 6 matrix had occurred, no charred timbers were found covered over by the feature. This indicates that no substantial cultural deposition took place at the site after the timbers were deposited. This is consistent with the known scenario of the abandonment and destruction of the site in September 1812. The charred timbers are interpreted as representing the remains of structural members of a log domicile which burned and collapsed on the site. These charred timbers seem to form a roughly rectangular pattern, the long axis of which runs east-west, with Area B and Area C more or less centered in what is interpreted as the eastern wall of the structure (Figure 42). Elias Darnell specifically made mention of the fact that the Miami "houses" at the forks of the Wabash village were built of bark and "*some of logs*" (Darnell 1978:13 emphasis added). The architectural and social implications of this log structure will be further addressed in Chapter 11.

Feature 6 is interpreted as being the sheet midden of what was likely a single log domicile. Area B and Area C are the physical manifestations of this domicile and the frequency and variety of artifacts within the midden increased in the units most directly adjacent to these Areas. The charred timbers are thought to denote, at least roughly, the outline of the structure following its destruction and collapse in 1812.

Feature 10

At the base of Feature 6 in unit 35N 42E Feature 10 was encountered. At the initial point of definition, Feature 10 appeared as a more organic, compacted 10 YR 3/3 dark brown silt loam with moderate charcoal flecking which seemed to cap a layer of 2.5 YR 5/1 dark reddish gray ash, heavily flecked with wood charcoal (Figure 43). Excavation of Feature 10 within 35N 42E revealed it to be a rather shallow, flat bottomed basin containing at least five distinct soil zones (Figure 44). The upper most zone did not extend across the entire feature. It consisted of a somewhat compact 10 YR 3/3 dark brown silt loam,

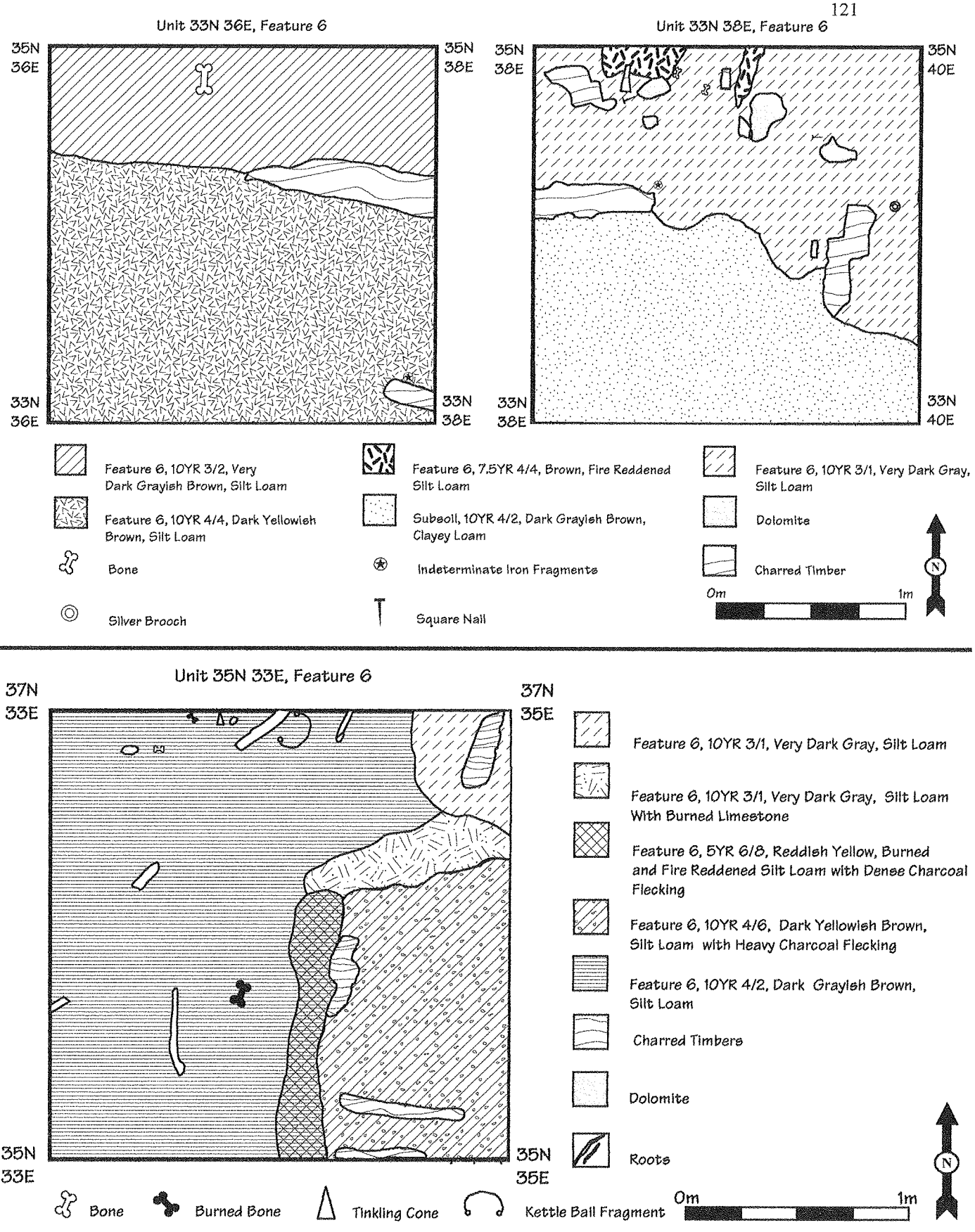


Figure 40. Plan Views of Units 33N 36E, 33N 38E and 35N 33E Showing the Largest Concentration of Charred Timbers in Feature 6.

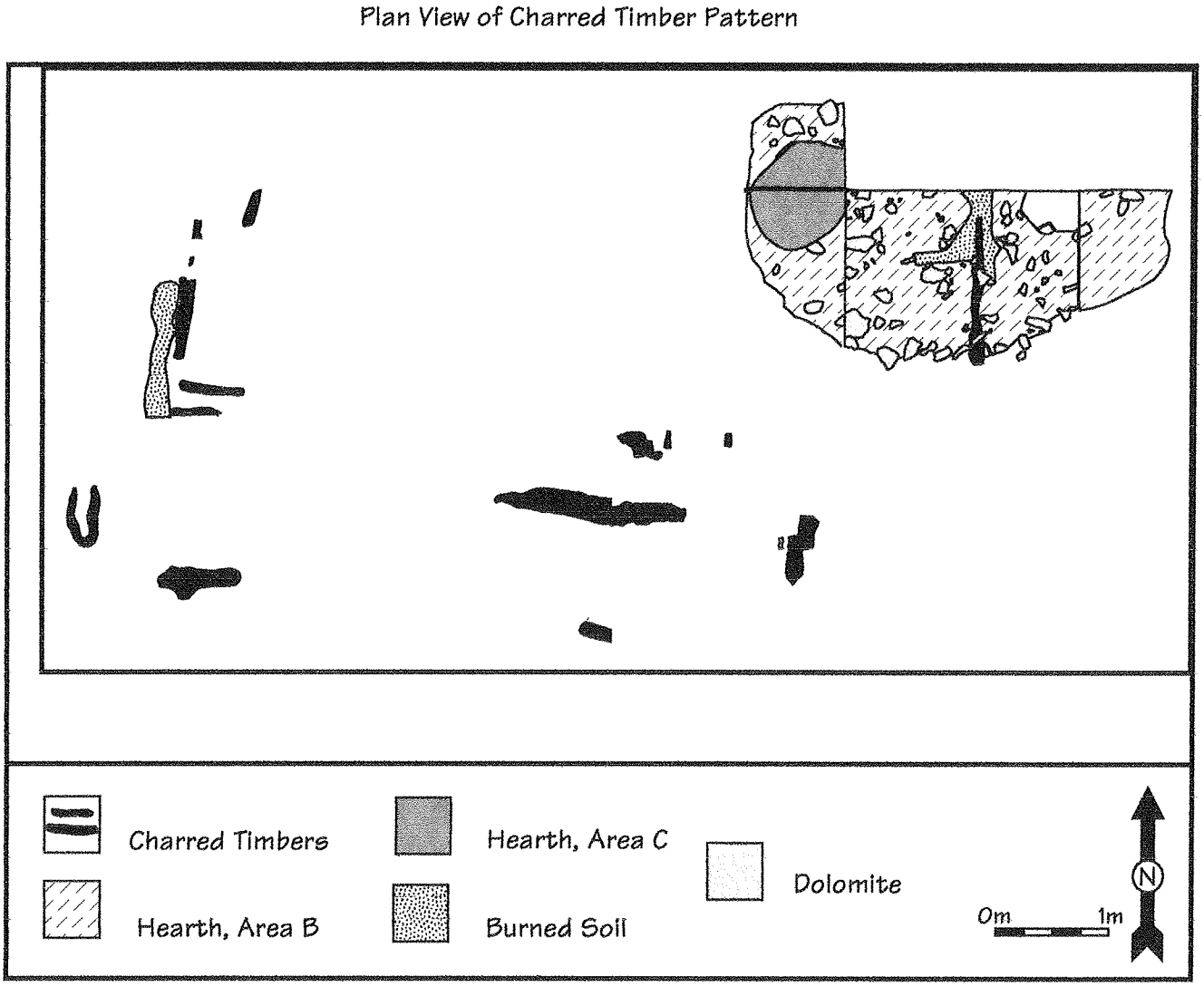


Figure 42. Plan View of Charred Timber Pattern and Hearth Area A, B and C in Feature 6.

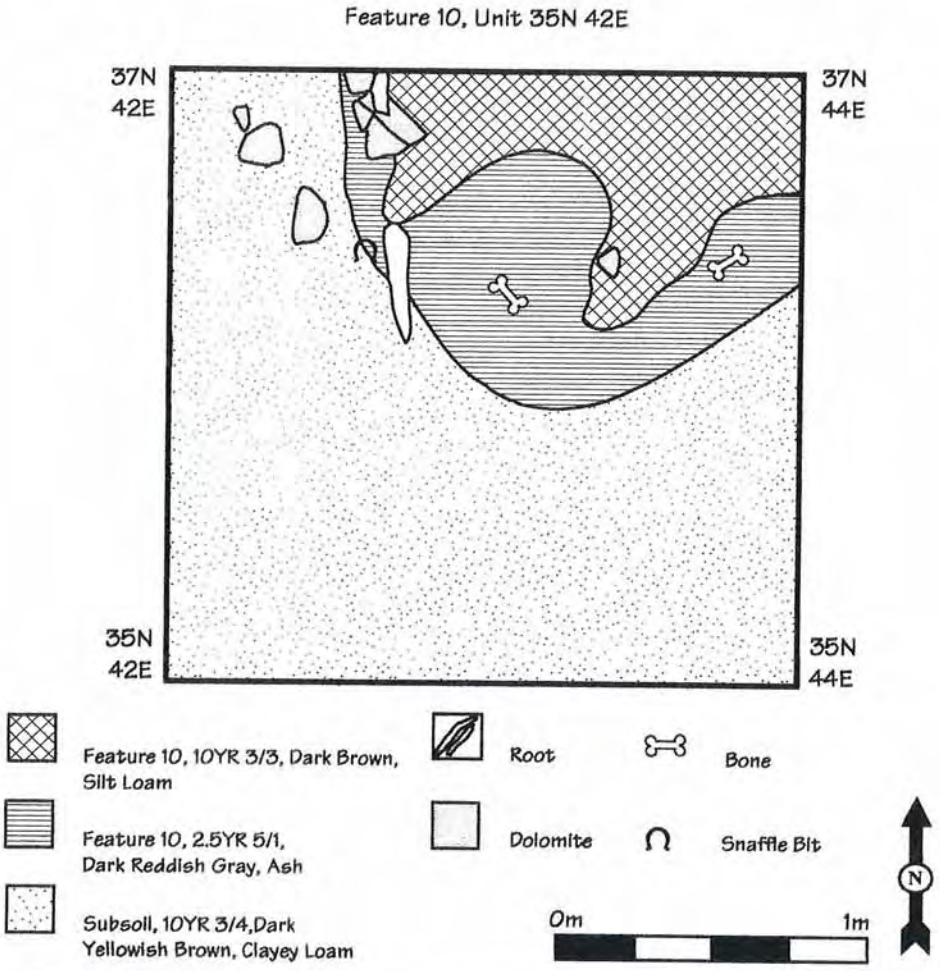
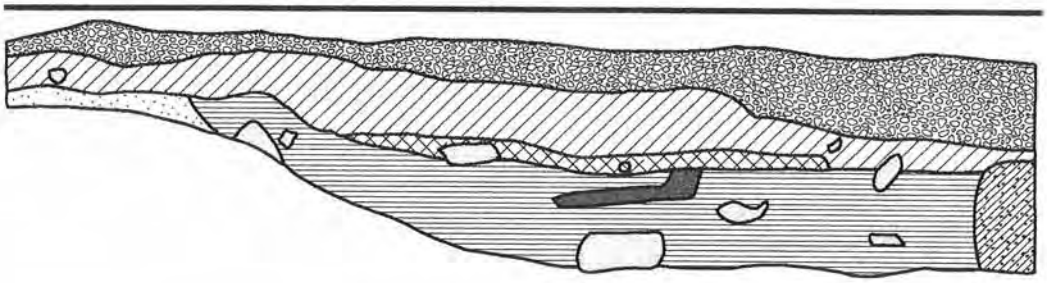


Figure 43. Plan View Map and Photograph of Unit 35N 42E Showing Feature 10.

Unit 35N 42E, North Wall Profile, Feature 10



Unit 35N 42E, East Wall Profile, Feature 10

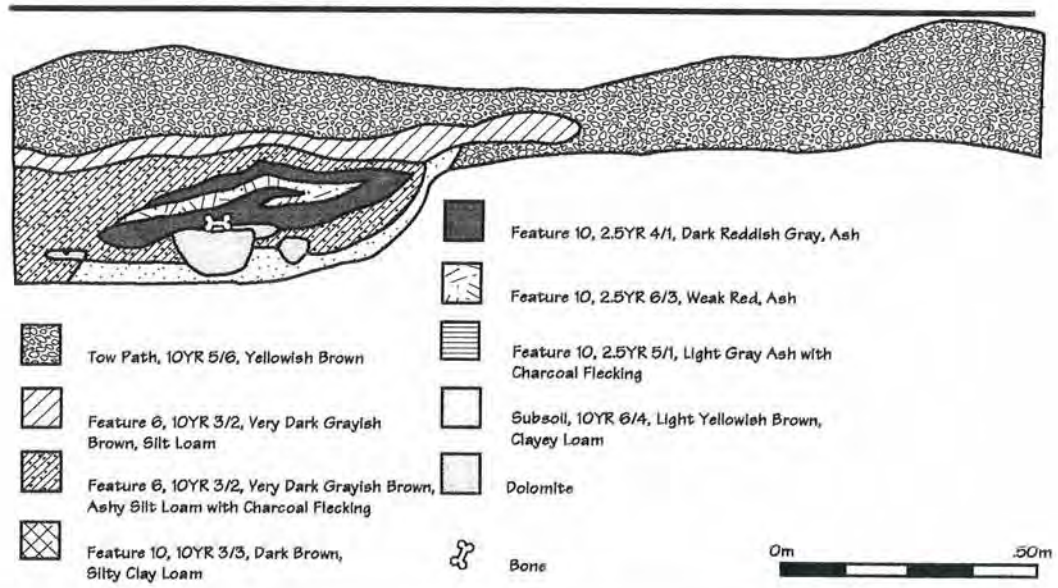


Figure 44. Profile Maps and Photograph of Unit 35N 42E Showing Feature 10.

measuring ca. 4 cm thick. In the north profile the second zone makes up the majority of the Feature 10 matrix. It measured 21 cm at its thickest point and consisted of 2.5 YR 5/1 dark reddish gray ash moderately flecked with charcoal and contained some large pieces of dolomite. Within this zone was a small lens (ca. 2 to 4 cm thick) of 2.5 YR 4/1 dark reddish gray ash mottled with 2.5 YR 8/1 white ash. This lens may represent a single dumping episode. At the east end of the north wall profile and in the east wall profile of 35N 42E at least one and possibly two dumping episodes were apparent. These soil zones consisted of a thick (22 cm) layer of 10 YR 3/2 ashy silt loam with moderate carbon flecking. Within this layer was a ca. 13 cm thick lens of 2.5 YR 4/1 dark reddish gray ash, within which was a smaller, 2 cm thick lens of 2.5 YR 6/3 weak red ash. Subsequent to the removal of Feature 10 in unit 35N 42E, the remainder of the feature was exposed in plan view, irrespective of grid units. This revealed Feature 10 to be a tear drop shaped basin, measuring 2.58 m east-west by 2.08 m at its widest point north-south (Figure 45).

Artifactually, Feature 10 proved to be a microcosm of the site. Careful excavation of the feature allowed many artifacts within Feature 10 to be mapped *in situ*. The horizontal distribution of these artifacts is presented in Figure 46. Table 3 provides a summary of the artifact types found in Feature 10.

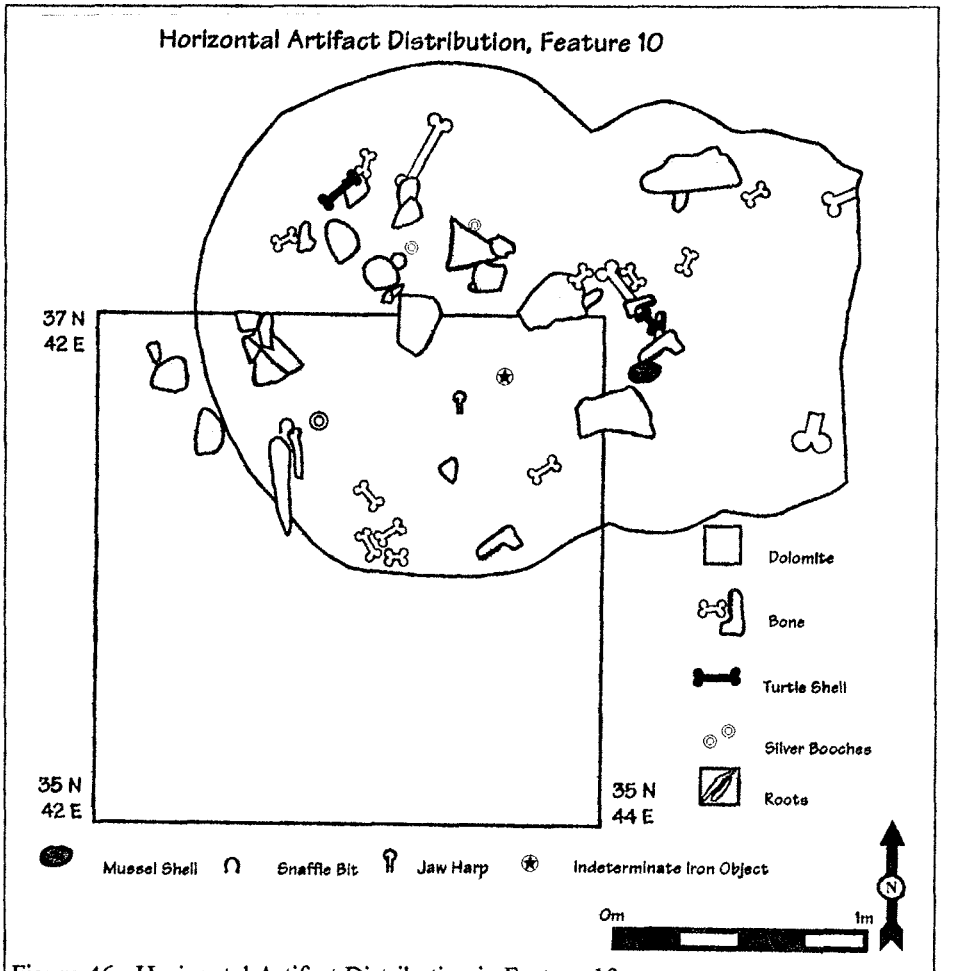


Figure 46. Horizontal Artifact Distribution in Feature 10.

Table 3. Summary of Feature 10 Artifacts.

Artifact Type	Functional Group	Material
Bead	Adornment	Glass
Brooches	Adornment	Silver
Triangular Pendants	Adornment	Tin

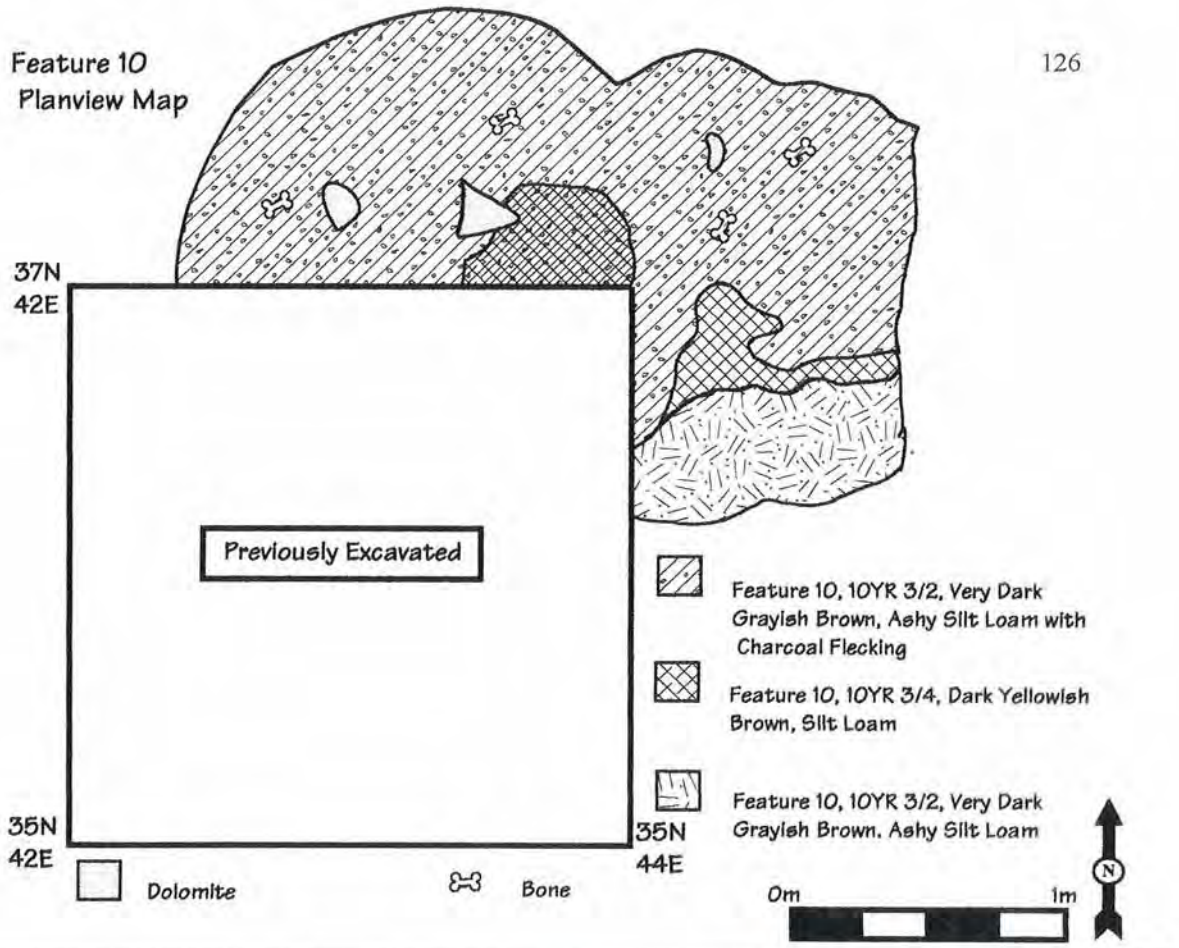


Figure 45. Plan View Map and Photograph of Feature 10.

Table 3. Summary of Feature 10 Artifacts cont.

Tinkling Cones	Adornment	Tin
Bracelet	Adornment	Copper/Brass
Lead Balls	Arms Related	Lead
Lead Shot	Arms Related	Lead
Lead Sprue	Arms Related	Lead
Lead Spillage	Arms Related	Lead
Gunflints	Arms Related	Stone
Pipes	Tobacco Use	White Clay
Moravian Pipe	Tobacco Use	Clay
Jaw Harp	Amusements	Iron
Vessel Glass	Food Preparation and Consumption	Glass
Euro-american Ceramic	Food Preparation and Consumption	Clay
Silver Scraps	Metal Working	Silver
Flat Glass	Personal	Glass
Nails	Structural	Iron
Snaffle Bit	Transportation	Iron

As over the site in general, faunal remains proved to be the most prevalent cultural material recovered from Feature 10. Unlike much of the bone from the rest of the site, however, the faunal remains from Feature 10 were in an excellent state of preservation. Due, at least in part, to the good preservation within Feature 10, wider array of faunal remains were extracted, including not only mammalian bone and teeth, but also turtle shell, fish scales and vertebrae and mussel shell (see Chapter 8). Botanicals from the feature also cover the spectrum of floral remains recovered across the site. They include, but are not limited to, hickory, hazelnut, oak/beech nut shells and meat, maize, squash/gourd rind fragments, blueberry, grape, and plum/cherry seeds (see Chapter 9).

Obviously, the final use of Feature 10 by the Miami occupants of the site was as a refuse pit. It is possible that it had earlier served as a storage pit. The thin layer of compacted silt loam may have been an attempt by the site occupants to cap the pit once it had been filled with refuse. That the pit was overlain by

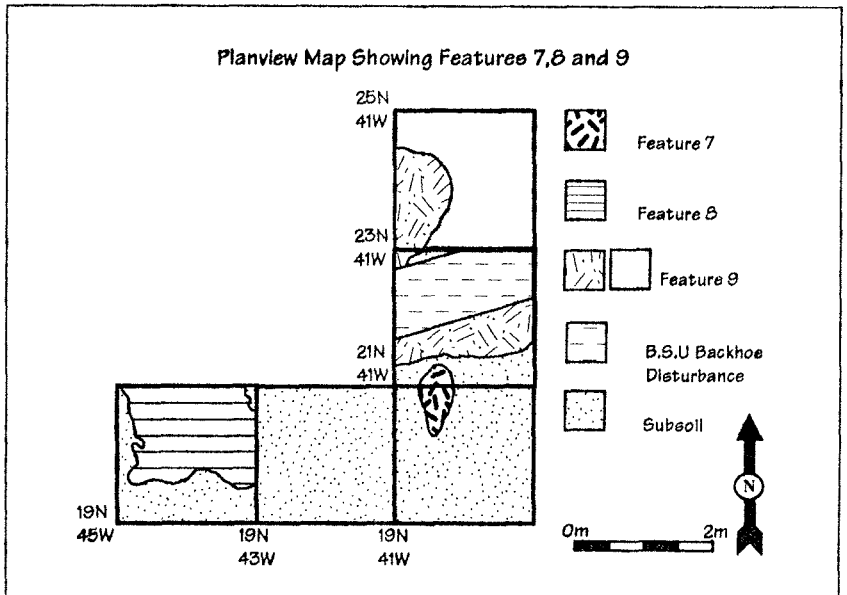


Figure 48. Excavation Block C Plan View Map Showing Features 7,8,and 9.

Feature 6 is testimony to the fact that it had been used, filled and abandoned well prior to the termination of

the Miami occupation of the site. Its location on the site places it just outside and adjacent to what is interpreted to have been the eastern wall of a log domicile. The refuse which made up the fill of Feature 10 is the result of the everyday household activities and accidental losses of an early 19th century Miami family.

Phase II investigations had also revealed the presence of cultural deposits at the western end of the site. Excavation Block C was placed over that area of the site in an effort to more fully define and evaluate these deposits (Figure 3 and Figure 47). Features 7, 8 and 9 were located in Excavation Block C. These three feature were closely associated with each other as can be seen in Figure 48. Features 7 and 9 are considered together.

Features 7 and 9

Feature 7 was first delineated in unit 19N 41W. It appeared as a small rather oval shaped area of intense burning. The matrix of the feature was made up of 7.5 YR 4/4 fire reddened silt loam, 7.5 YR 5/6 burned silt loam, 10 YR 7/3 very pale brown ash, 10 YR 7/2 light gray ash and pieces of burned clay (Figure 49). A profile taken of Feature 7 in the north wall of unit 19N 41W shows it to be a shallow, flat bottomed basin, only 7 cm thick (Figure 49). Feature 7 extended north into unit 21N 41W. In total plan view the feature appeared tear drop shaped and measured ca. 68 cm east-west at its widest point and ca. 1.21 m north-south. All fill from Feature 7 was removed and transported back to the laboratory for flotation. The 25 liters of soil processed turned up only very minute amounts of faunal or botanical remains (see Chapters 8 and 9). The ubiquitous lithic debitage was the only other cultural material recovered from the fill. Lacking unambiguous evidence for the function of Feature 7, it can only be said to represent the remnant of a fire pit. Its general size, shape and construction is similar to Feature 6, Area A and it may have had a similar function.

Feature 9 was located just north of Feature 7 in units 21N 41W and 23N 41W. Feature 9 had been bisected by an ARMS backhoe trench during the Phase II investigations at the site and corresponds to Features 1 and 2 of that study (Zoll 1992:4). However, as was the case with Feature 6, Area A, portions of the feature remained intact below the base of the ARMS backhoe trench, resulting in a somewhat confused plan view (Figure 50). Excavation of the feature showed it to be similar to Feature 6, an organically rich, artifact bearing deposit beneath the tow path of the Wabash and Erie Canal. In profile, the feature appeared as a thin, ca. 3 to 6 cm thick band of mostly 10 YR 2/2 very dark brown silt loam (Figure 51). The profiles of unit 23N 41W are the best representation of the overall stratigraphy of the site, showing the modern plowzone, the compacted remnants of the base of the tow path and beneath that, the buried remains of the ca. 1812 living surface (Figure 52).

Though Feature 9 was an artifact bearing cultural deposit, the quantity and variety of material culture was less than was found in Feature 6. Feature 9 artifacts are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. Summary of Feature 9 Artifacts.

Artifact Type	Functional Group	Material
Bead	Adornment	Glass
Triangular Pendants	Adornment	Tin
Lead Shot	Arms Related	Lead
Lead Spillage	Arms Related	Lead
Gunflint	Arms Related	Stone
Nail	Structural	Iron

The triangular tin pendants are worthy of special mention. A cluster of 44 of these small adornment items, in conditions ranging from very good to almost completely disintegrated, were found, carefully mapped and removed from within Feature 9 in unit 23N 41W (Figure 53). Faunal and floral remains, again not very extensive in Feature 9 but representative of the types recovered across the site, are taken up in Chapters 8 and 9.

As implied above, Feature 9 is interpreted here as being a midden or living surface similar to the midden on the eastern end of the site: Feature 6. That is to say, it is thought to represent the inevitable build

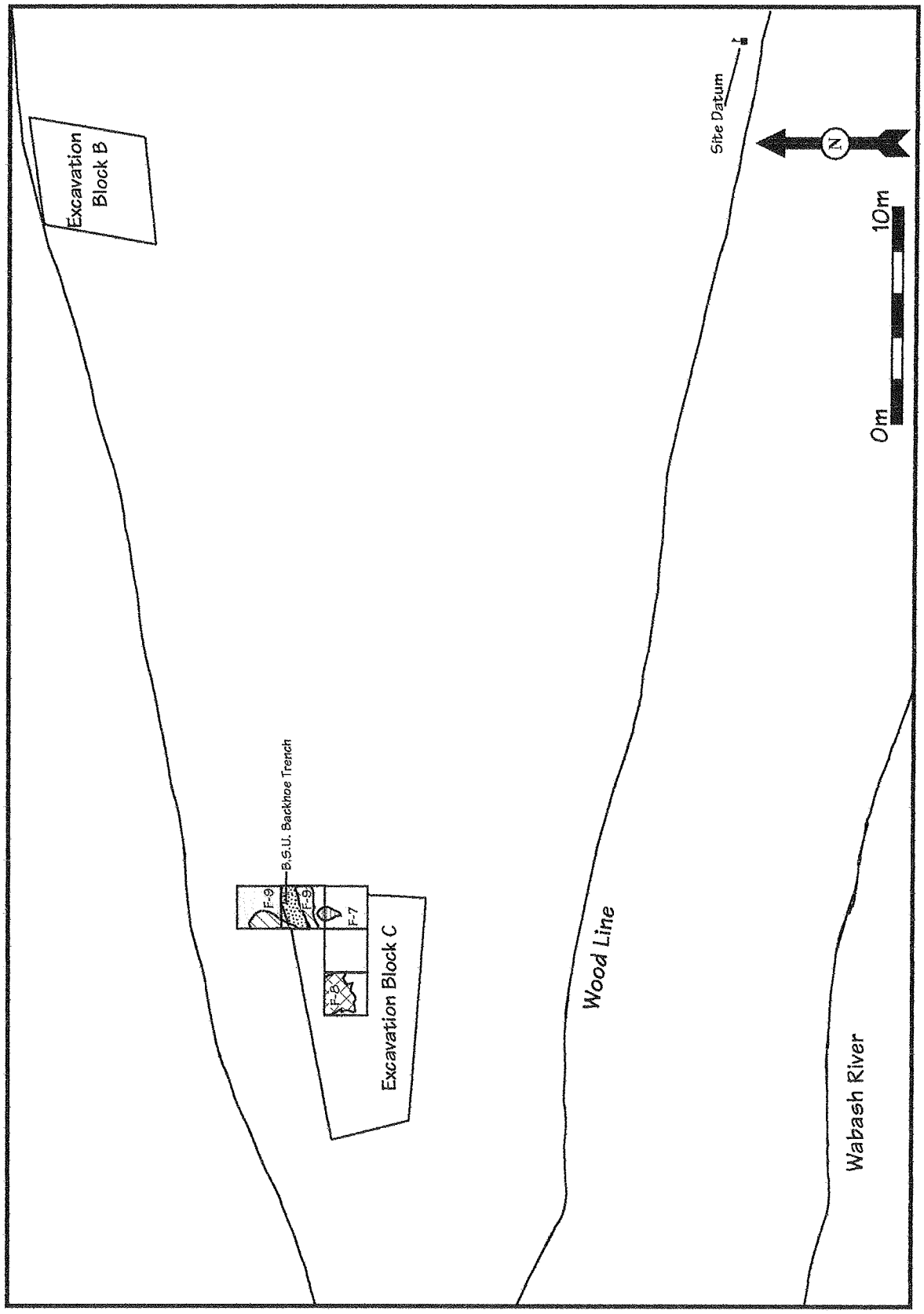
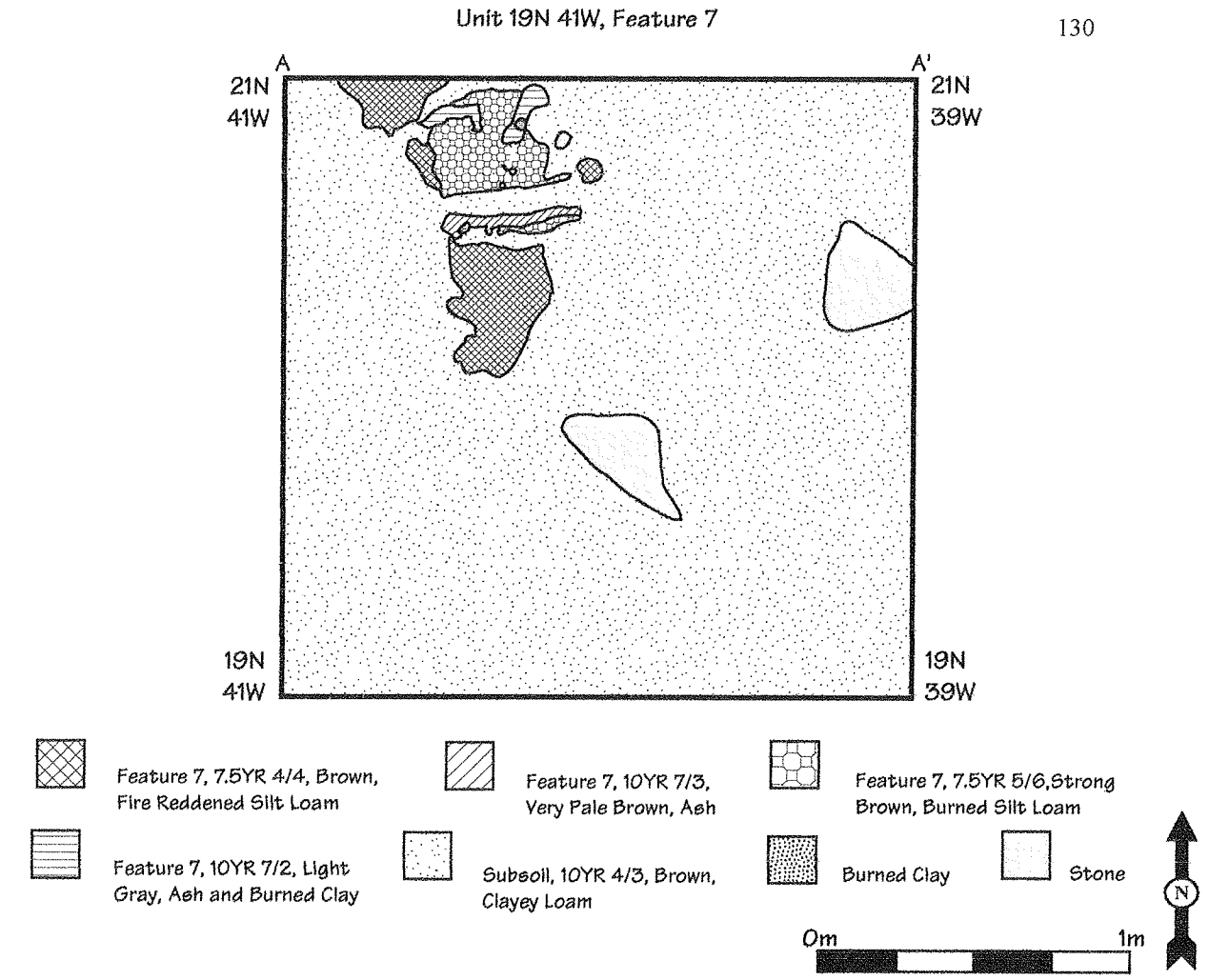


Figure 47. Map of Excavation Blocks B and C.



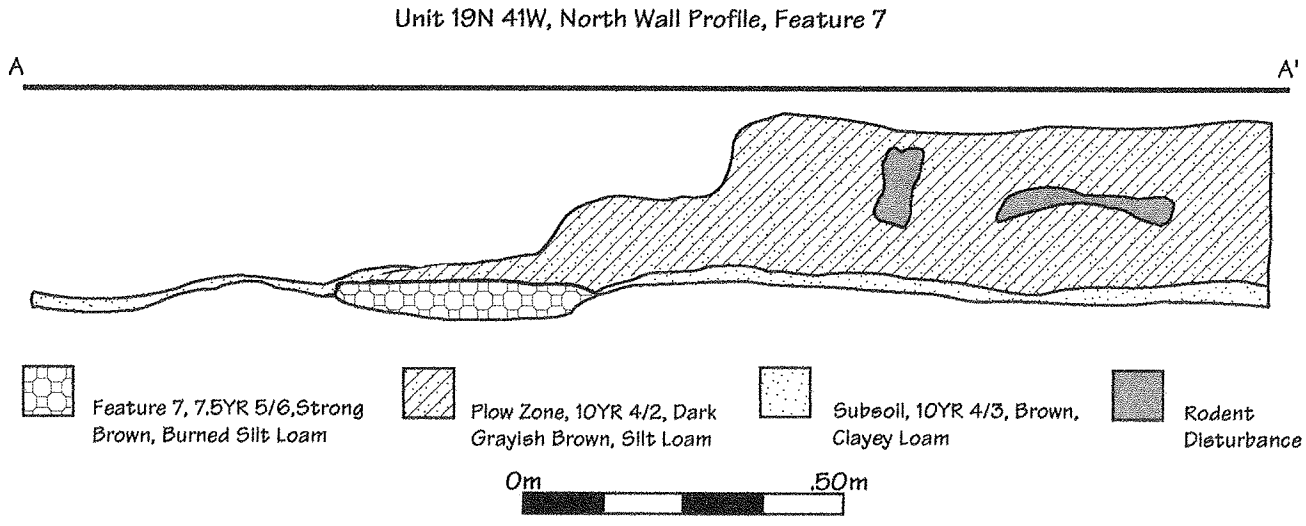


Figure 49. Plan View and Profile of Unit 19N 41W Showing Feature 7.

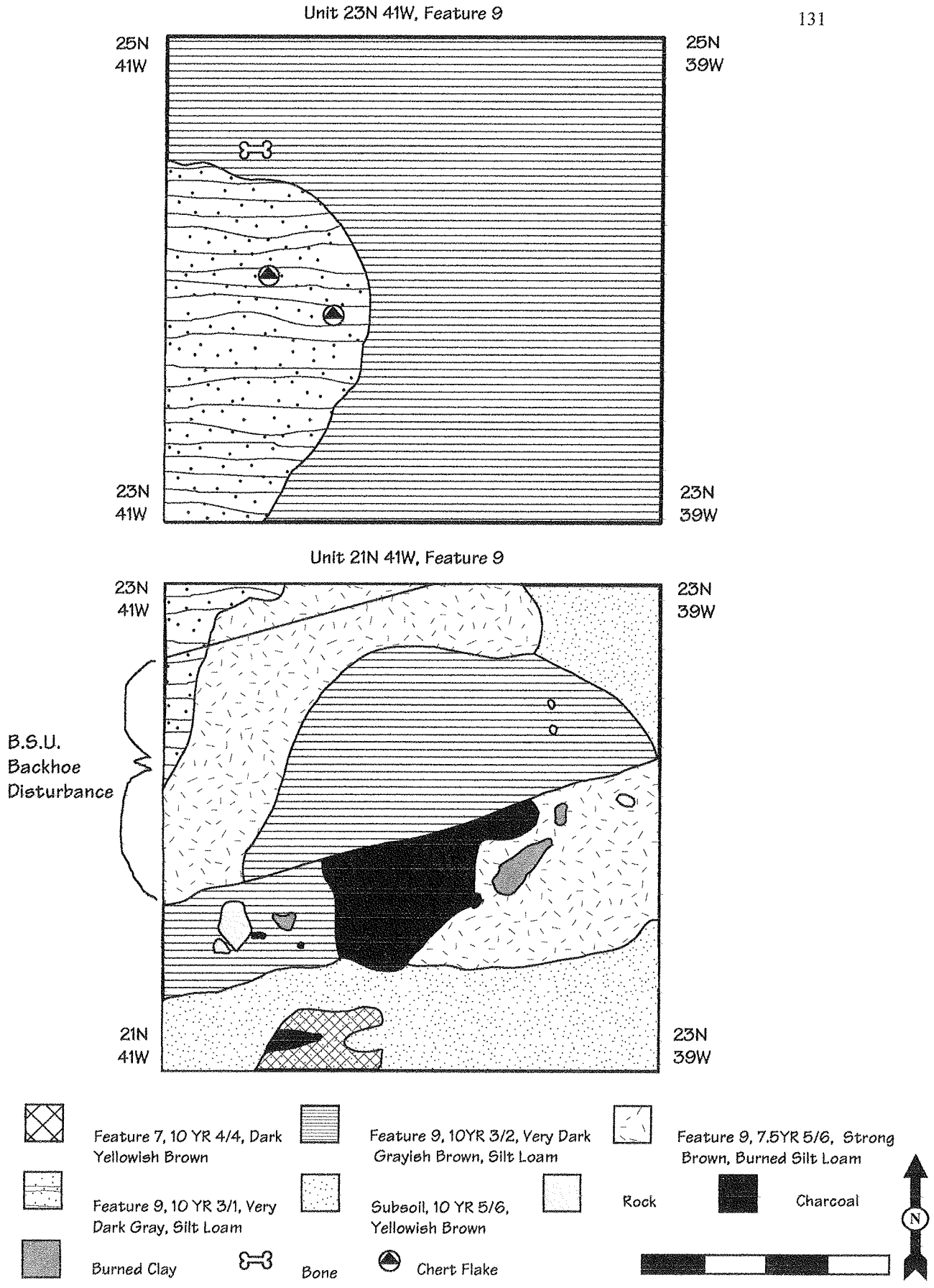


Figure 50. Plan Views of Units 23N 41W and 21N 41W Showing Feature 9.

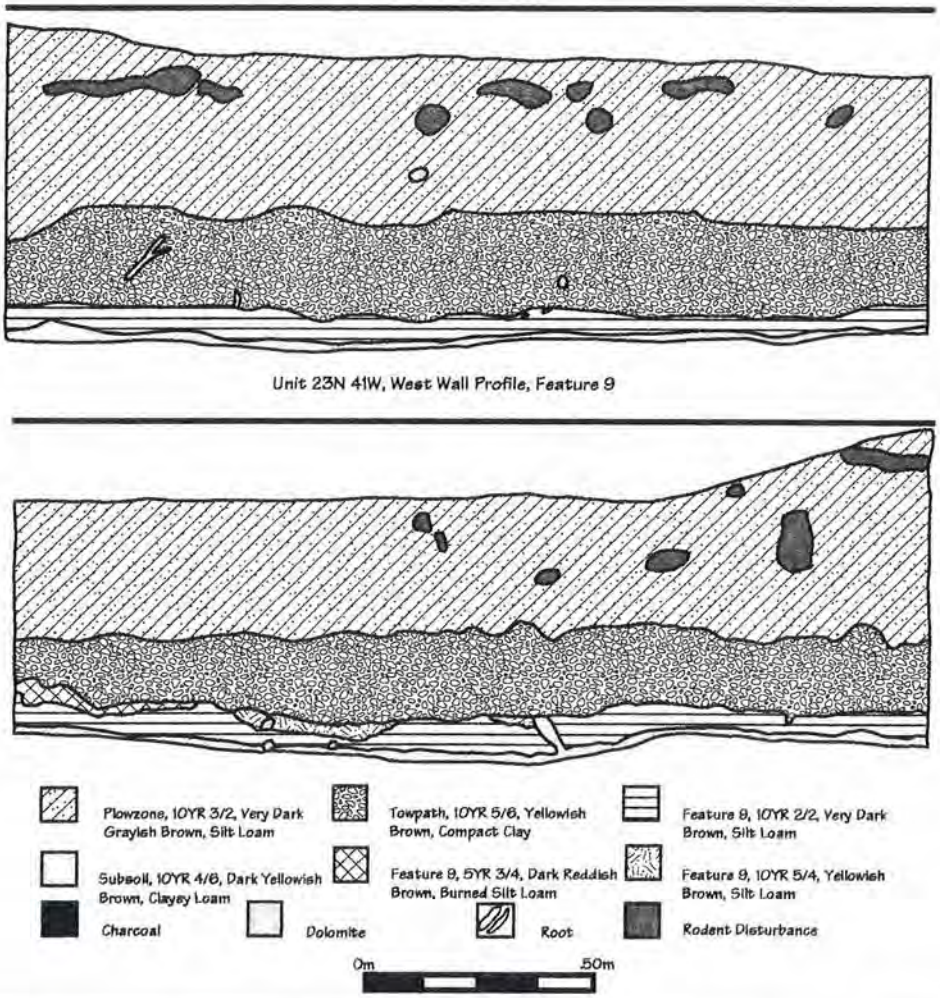


Figure 51. North and West Wall Profile Maps of Unit 23N 41W Showing Plowzone, Tow Path and Feature 9.

Figure 52. Photograph of Unit 23N 41W Showing the Plowzone, Tow Path and Feature 9.

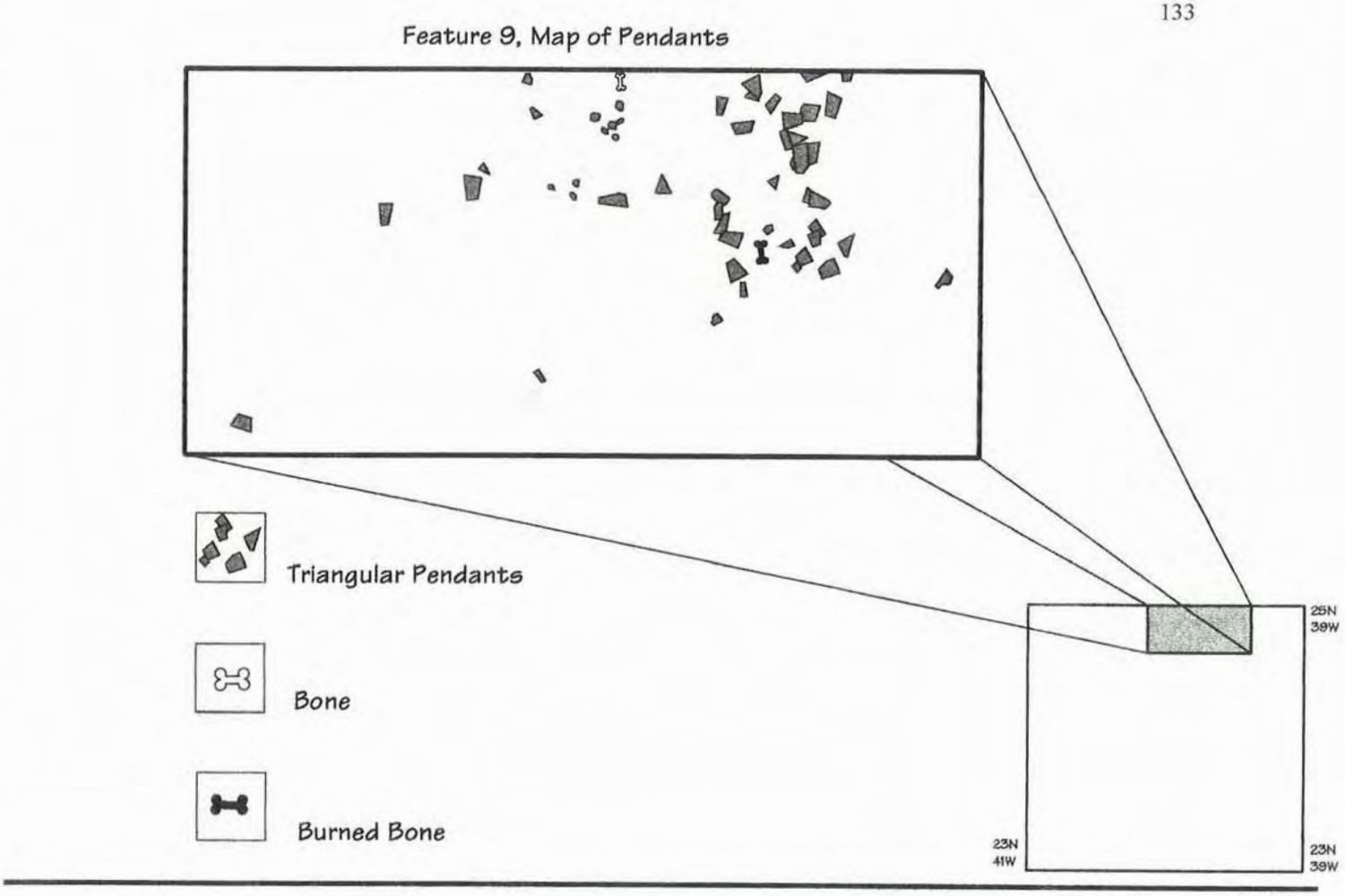


Figure 53. Map and Photograph Showing Tin Triangles *in situ* in Unit 23N 41W, Feature 9.

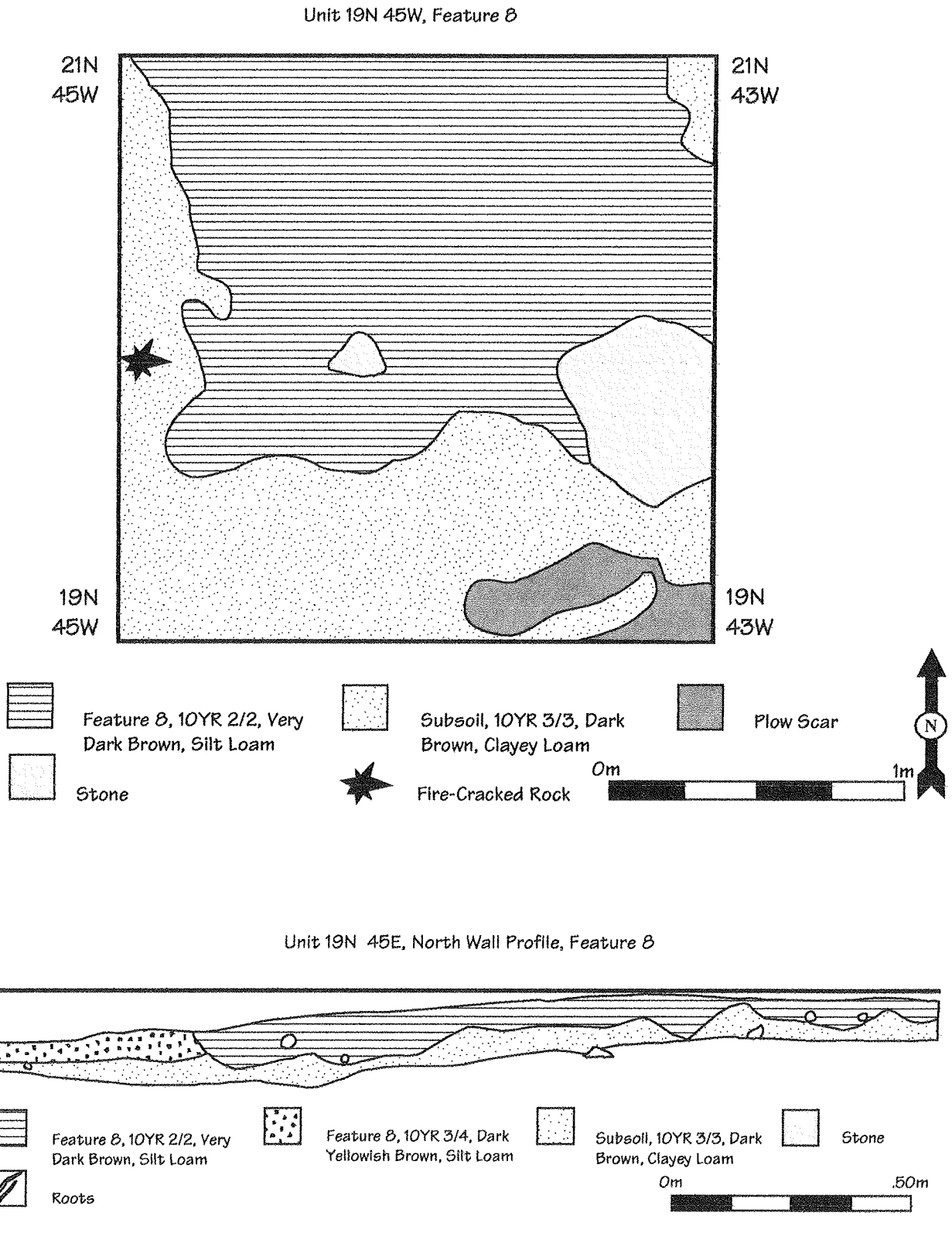


Figure 54. Plan View and Profile of Unit 19N 45W Showing Feature 8.

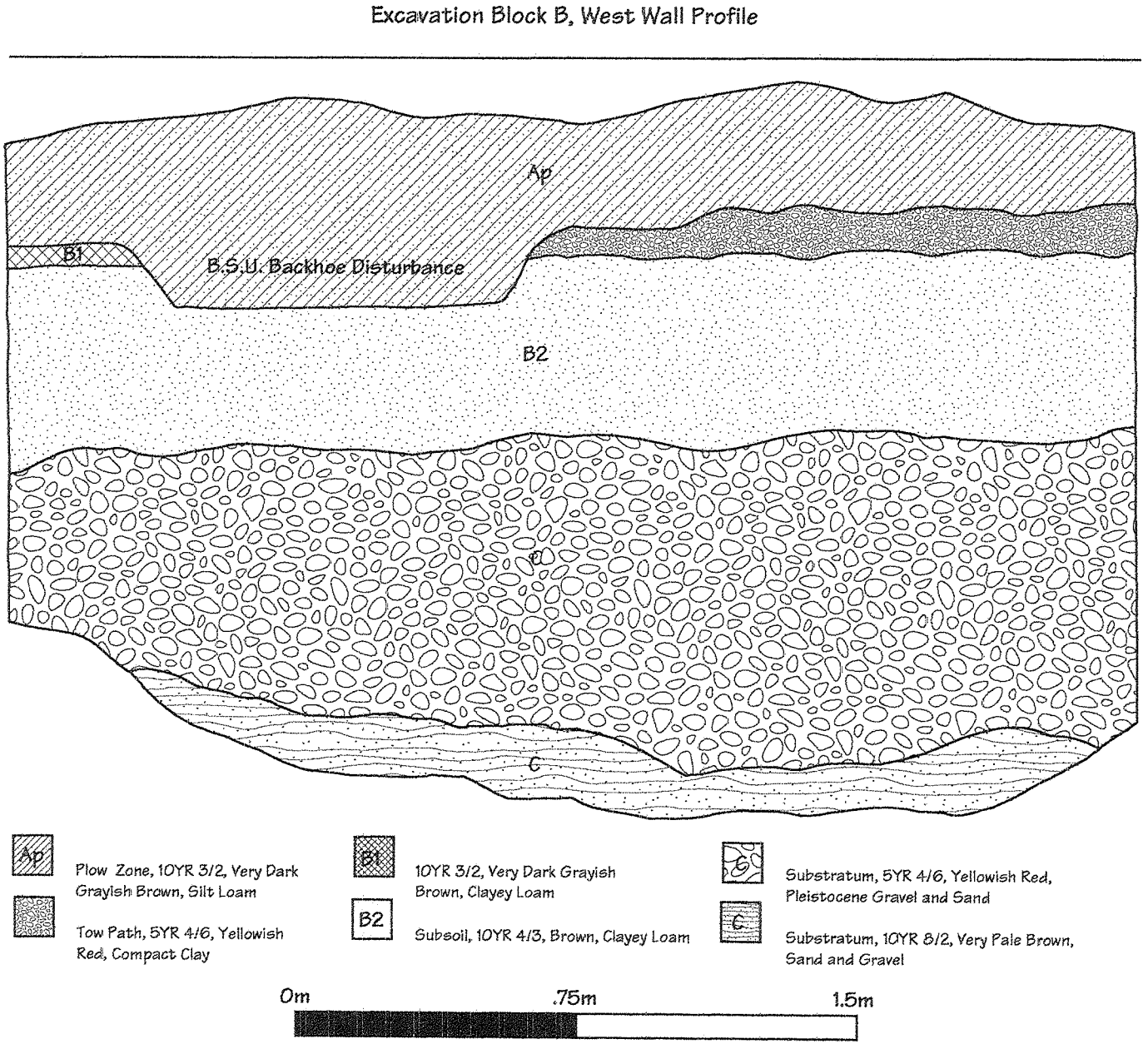


Figure 55. Profile of Excavation Block B.

up of debris and organically rich soil beneath and around a domicile commonly referred to as a sheet midden. Like Feature 6, Feature 9 is likely the resulting sheet midden from a single domestic structure. Unlike Feature 6, however, the location, size or type of structure associated with Feature 9 was not revealed upon its excavation.

Feature 8

Feature 8 was located unit 19N 45W. It appeared in plan view as a very homogenous, 10 YR 2/2 very dark brown and 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown, soil discoloration (Figure 54). It was confined to the northern two-thirds of the unit and in fact a plow scar in the south east corner is testimony to the fact that any cultural deposits south of that point have likely been obliterated by agricultural activities. Upon excavation of Feature 8, it was revealed to be a ca. 4 to 11 cm thick band of midden (Figure 54). It is undoubtedly an extension of the midden represented by Feature 9. Even more so than Feature 9, Feature 8 contained very little in the way of material culture. The entire assemblage of historic artifacts consisting of a single specimen of lead shot. Lithic debitage was, of course, present. No faunal remains were found in 1/4" screen samples, the bulk soil sample or in the flotation sample. Likewise, botanical remains were almost non-existent (see Chapter 9).

The presence of early 19th century midden deposits at both the eastern and western edges of the site begged the question as to whether or not these deposits extended across the entire site. Although ARMS had essentially excavated backhoe trenches along the entire east-west axis of the site, the significance of the tow path to the preservation of cultural deposits was not known at that time. No effort had been made to check for the presence or absence of cultural manifestations below the base of the tow path adjacent to the Wabash and Erie Canal between the eastern and western edges of the site (see Zoll 1992). Excavation Block B served that purpose. The north-south axis of this ca. 5 x 5 meter square was located between grid points 25.8N and 31.5N and the east-west axis was between 2.8W and 8.8W (Figures 3 and 47). Initially, the surface of Excavation Block B was mechanically stripped to the base of the tow path. No buried A horizon, evidenced elsewhere on the site by features 6, 8 and 9, was found at that level. In order to compile a stratigraphic profile of this area of the site, mechanical excavation of Block B was resumed, excavation was halted at a depth of ca. 1.80 meters below ground surface. A three meter section of the west wall of Block B was shovel and trowel scraped in preparation for a profile drawing. This profile, presented in Figure 55 illustrates the stratigraphic relationship of the Ap horizon, the intact portion of the Wabash and Erie Canal tow path, the subsoil or B horizons and the substratum or C horizon, which consisted of the sand and gravels laid down during the Pleistocene. The excavation of Block B showed that the features on the east and west sides of the site represented the horizontally discrete cultural manifestations of the 19th century Miami experience at 12-Hu-1022.

Chapter 7. Artifact Analysis

Upon completion of the initial laboratory processing of the artifactual assemblage from 12-Hu-1022, artifacts from the four material classes recovered--stone, clay, metal and glass--were assigned to functional categories. Functional categories are groupings of artifact types reasonably thought to represent the physical manifestations of certain activities or behaviors. As such, functional categories "can be used as an index to interpretation of past cultural activities and behavior" (Jones 1988:370). The functional groups used for the present study have been adapted from Jones (1988) and Anderson (1994). Jones, following Brown (1979), developed functional/activities groups to interpret Wea behavior based on archaeological collections from an 18th century Wea village site (12-T-6) on the central Wabash River (1988:366-371). Anderson used fur trade invoices from a collection of documents known as the Montreal Merchants' Records to analyze the "regional flow of trade goods into the western country" between 1715 and 1760 (1994:95-96). Wagner (1995) has recently adapted Anderson's functional categories to a study of archaeological data from the Windrose site, a ca. 1814-1834 Potawatomi site in northeastern Illinois. The functional groups used herein are those thought to best represent the range of activities and behaviors that took place at 12-Hu-1022 during the 19th century Miami occupation of the site, as reflected in the material culture recovered during the Phase III investigations. These functional groups are: Adornment, Arms Related, Food Preparation and Consumption, Tobacco Use, Clothing, Metal Working, Structural, Maintenance, Personal, Unidentifiable and Other. Unidentifiable artifacts are those too small, corroded, fragmentary or friable to be positively identified. The Other group is a catchall category that includes potentially identifiable (indeterminate) artifacts for which positive identifications or functions could not be made at the present time, as well as artifacts from the prehistoric or modern occupations of the site.

A total of 2,694 artifacts was recovered as a result of excavations at 12-Hu-1022. Of these, a total of 439 could confidently be assigned to the historic Miami occupation of the site. An additional three (n=3) historic artifacts post-date the Miami occupation. The remaining 2,252 artifacts were either prehistoric or ambiguous as to cultural affiliation. The latter include such things as burned clay, burned stones and fire-cracked rocks. Appendix B provides a catalogue of all artifacts from the site. In terms of the early 19th century historic artifacts, all four material classes--stone (n=36), glass (n=77), clay (n=27) and metal (n=299)--were represented in the assemblage.

Stone

A total of 2,055 stone artifacts was recovered. Historic stone artifacts numbered only 36, or 8.2% of the 19th century assemblage. Only two functional groups are represented in the stone artifact assemblage; Arms Related (n=36) and Other (n=2,019).

Arms Related stone artifacts consist entirely of European manufactured gunflints, gunflint fragments or gunflint flakes, collectively referred to as gunflints for the ease of discussion (Figure 56). As noted above, 36 gunflints were found as a result of Phase III operations at the site. European gunflints were manufactured in one of two basic ways. Blade gunflints, sometimes referred to as flake gunflints, were made by separating individual gunflints from long flint blades removed from prepared polyhedral cores. Spall gunflints, or gunspalls, were made by removing individual spalls from flint nodules or cores. Spall gunflints are wedge shaped and because they are individually removed, they retain the bulb of percussion at the heel of the gunflint (see Hamilton 1980:138-147). Both Great Britain and France produced spall gunflints throughout the 18th century and into the 19th century. France, however, developed the blade method of gunflint manufacture, possibly as early as the 17th century. The French managed to keep this technology a closely guarded state secret until late in the 18th century, when the British finally managed to learn it (Hamilton 1980:141). The archaeological implications for this historical phenomenon are that British blade gunflints do not appear on sites in North America much earlier than 1800 (Hamilton 1980:141; Kent 1983). After that time they become increasingly more common, especially as the War of 1812 approached (see Kent 1983).

Four varieties of gunflints were recognized, British blade gunflints (n=9), British spall gunflints (n=1), French blade gunflints (n=2) and French spall gunflints (n=1). Additionally, 9 gunflint fragments, of which eight can be identified as being of British origin, and 14 gunflint flakes. Of the flakes, 13 were determined to be British and one French. Characteristics of these gunflints are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. 12-Hu-1022 Gunflint Characteristics

Variety	Quantity	Average Measurement	Primary Use	Secondary Use
British blade	9	L=18.3mm W=21.4mm T=7.7	Tradegun	7 show use as a fire flint
British spall	1	L=23mm W=21mm T=8mm	Tradegun	None
French blade	2	L=23mm W=22.5mm T=5.5mm	Tradegun	1shows use as a fire flint
French Spall	1	L=18mm W=19mm T=7mm	Tradegun	shows use as a fire flint
Fragments	9	NA	NA	NA
Flakes	14	NA	NA	NA
Total	**36**	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**

Gunflints determined to have been used secondarily as fire flints exhibit what Mason has called the "characteristic edge concavities, irregularities, and localized edge battering" resulting from use against firesteels (sometimes called strike-a-lights) (Mason 1986:193). Those used as a part of fire making kits were generally those that could no longer be used as gunflints. Such economic use of gunflints should not be surprising, given the Algonquian propensity for using and modifying European goods once their original function had ceased to be an option.

Gunflints were an essential item in the fur and Indian trade and staggering quantities of gunflints were shipped to the western frontier during the 18th and 19th centuries. An inventory of the merchandise on hand at the Fort Wayne Indian Agency in 1805 included "4800 Flints" and an 1811 list of goods given to the Mississinewa and forks of the Wabash Miami shows that they were given "2000 Flints", the Eel River Miami received only "1000 Flints" (Griswold 1927:440; Thornbrough 1961:83). Unfortunately, neither document reveals which variety or varieties of gunflints the Americans were supplying to the Miami. This is of some significance when comparing the gunflint assemblage from 12-Hu-1022 to other War of 1812 era archaeological sites (Table 6).

Table 6. Gunflint Comparisons

Site	Occupied	British Gunflints	% of Total	French Gunflints	% of Total
12-Hu-1022	1809-1812	19	86.4%	3	13.6%
Fort Knox II	1803-1813	6	24%	19	76%
Tellico Blockhouse	1794-1807	16	23%	53	77%

Sources: Gray 1988:200-203 and Polhemus 1977:206-207.

Table 6 reveals that the overwhelming majority of gunflints from 12-Hu-1022 are of British origin and French gunflints are poorly represented, while at the other two sites, Fort Knox II and the Tellico Blockhouse, the opposite appears to be true. Fort Knox II was an American military installation located on the Wabash River, just up river from Vincennes (see Gray 1988). It was from this fort that Harrison marched in 1811 against Prophetstown. The Tellico Blockhouse was also an American military installation, located on the north bank of the Little Tennessee River in Monroe County, Tennessee. Like Fort Wayne, Tellico was the site of an Indian Factory from 1796 until 1807 (see Polhemus 1977:1-3). The pattern reflected in Table 6 seems to indicate that American military installations and government agencies were regularly supplied with French made gunflints. Between 1806 and 1812 the Republican administrations of Jefferson and Madison enacted a series of trade restrictions designed to coerce Great Britain into respecting

American rights and, failing that, to act as a means of prosecuting a war again the British (see Hickey 1981). While none of the measures were completely successful, they no doubt limited the amount of British manufactured goods reaching the American frontier during the early years of the 19th century. As the United States and Great Britain edged closer to war during the first decade of the 19th century the American military increasingly turned to the French for supplies (see Chartrand 1992:84-86). In contrast, the Miami village at the forks of the Wabash, only some thirty miles from a major American military base and Indian Factory, was well supplied with gunflints of British origin. Though other factors affecting the supply and distribution of gunflints could be at play, it is suggested here that the abundance of British made gunflints at 12-Hu-1022 may be an archaeological manifestation of British efforts to entice the Miami and other western tribes into an alliance against the United States. In 1811, it will be remembered, Touissant Dubois reported to Harrison that the Miami chiefs, who he hoped to meet in council, were eager to get to the King's storehouse at Malden. Dubois, Harrison wrote:

> has been in the Indian Trade thirty years and has never known as he thinks more than one fourth as many goods given to the Indian as they [the British] are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, 25 pounds of powder 50 of lead 3 blankets 3 strouds of cloth, ten shirts and several other articles. He says that every Indian is furnished with a gun (either Rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition [Esarey 1922 (1)575].

Of course, all of the guns and ammunition in the world would have been of very little use in 1811 without a supply of gunflints and it can be assumed that they were a part of the "other articles" mentioned by Dubois.

That the forks of the Wabash Miami, and in particularly Chapine and his warriors, were hostile toward the United States, and therefore likely well disposed to British generosity, has already been ascertained. The gunflint assemblage from 12-Hu-1022 provides tantalizing evidence of Miami-British interaction prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1812.

Stone artifacts assigned to the Other group include unmodified stone (n=91), fire-cracked rock (n=23), burned stone (n=29) and prehistoric (n=1876). Prehistoric stone artifacts, mostly in the form of lithic debitage or flakes (n=1622), were ubiquitous on the site, occurring in plowzone, feature and subsoil contexts. Additional types of prehistoric stone artifacts recovered were block flakes (n=220), cores (n=12), bifaces (n=9), endscrapers (n=4), unifacial tools (n=1) and projectile points (n=8). Diagnostic points span from the Middle Archaic--Raddatz Side Notched (Figure 57a)--to the Late Archaic--Brewerton Eared (Figure 57b) and an unidentified Late Archaic point (Figure 57c)--to the Middle Woodland--Lowe Flared Base (Figure 57d)--to the Middle/Late Woodland--Jacks Reef Corner Notched (Figure 57e) to the Late Woodland--Madison (Figure 57f)--time periods. Two point fragments could not be further identified (Figure 57g and h).

The soil formation processes at work at the site have not been very dynamic since the original deposition of alluvium following the draining of glacial Lake Maumee near the end of the Pleistocene. This has resulted in an A horizon which displays no apparent stratigraphy. Archaeologically, this process, or lack thereof, has resulted in the mixing of cultural materials over time. Excavation into the B horizon in two units, 31N 36E and 31N 40E, found that lithic debitage extended approximately 10cm into the subsoil. Migration of cultural materials from the prehistoric occupations of the site into the subsoil by any number of acts of soil turbation (rodents, roots, etc.) would account for these non-contextual artifact concentrations (see Sherman 1996 for a more detailed discussion of similar site formation processes).

Finally, a word of caution regarding the flakes and other lithic debitage at the site. Although no clear evidence for stone tool manufacture by the Miami occupants of the site could be ascertained, the possibility cannot be overlooked. During his trip to the forks of the Wabash in 1804, as a member the Quaker delegation to the Miami, Gerard T. Hopkins noted in his journal that about five miles below the forks he and his party came upon:

> ... a vein of land about one mile in width, the surface of which is civered with small flint stones, and which we are told extends for several miles. On examining these flints, we found them to be of excellent quality.

> Here the Indians supply themselves with flints for their guns and for other purposes, and here formerly they procured their darts. It has certainly been a place abundantly resorted to from time immemorial. This is evident from the surface of the ground being dug in holes of two and three feet in depth, over nearly the whole tract. This flinty vein is called by the Indians Father Flint. They have a tradition concerning its origin which is very incredible. [McCord 1970:51].

No native made gunflints were recognized in the lithic assemblage from the site, but that some flintknapping activities took place on site during the Miami occupation does not seem unlikely.

Glass

Only 77 glass artifacts were recovered. All appear to date to the early 19th century occupation of the site, making up 17.5% of the 19th century assemblage. Functional groups represented include Adornment (n=22), Food Preparation and Consumption (n=49), Personal (n=5) and Other (n=1).

Glass artifacts in the Adornment group consist entirely of glass beads. The following analysis of the glass beads from 12-Hu-1022 was prepared by Michele Lorenzini.

Purpose

Many have written solely on the topic of glass bead manufacture and have produced exhaustive evidence regarding techniques, chemical analysis, etc. However, whenever discussing glass beads one cannot get away from a brief explanation of their manufacture. I will contain this examination to the one type of manufactured glass beads present at site 12-Hu-1022, Huntington County, Indiana. See Karklins (1985) for a discussion of other manufacture methods or Kidd and Kidd (1970) for a more detailed account.

Drawn Beads

In making drawn beads, the glass worker first collects a gather of molten glass onto a blowing tube. This gather is then blown into a small globe of glass. Another iron rod is then attached to the other end of the globe and the glass is pulled, i.e. drawn, out to a long hollow tube. I have read many lengths to which these tubes were drawn, some say 150 feet while other sources claim 300 yards. After forming the initial globe of molten glass, the glass blower may have added some type of decoration through a number of methods.

One technique was to layer the original globe with a number of different colors. Another type of decoration involved inserting the globe, still attached to the blow pipe, into a circular container and attaching different colored canes (solid thin tubular pieces of glass) which will produce stripes. The globe could also have been shaped in a marver, a flat piece of iron or stone, which will give the tube a differently shaped cross section (for example: square and triangular). A final decorative variation involves twisting the glass as it is drawn out into a tube. The globe may have been reintroduced into the fire a number of times throughout this process in order to maintain its molten state or to adhere the different colored canes to the globe to ensure quality stripes.

The next step was to allow the tube to cool completely and then cut it into segments for easy handling. These segments would later be cut into bead sized lengths. At this point, the beads may be left in this form for sale or may be further worked. One option would be to tumble the beads in order to alter the shape from tubular to round or oval. In this method, the beads were first placed in a drum with ash and sand and stirred around until the perforations were filled with this mixture. This kept the perforation from collapsing and the beads from sticking together while the beads were heated. The beads, along with more ash and sand mixture, were constantly stirred while being heated over a charcoal fire. The beads were then cooled and eventually sorted by size through a series of graduated sieves. A final polishing process could be undertaken which involved the beads being placed into bags with bran or wheat husks and agitated for a span of time. Other methods of decoration included grinding the ends or the entire bead to form facets (Good 1977:29-30; Karklins 1985:88-89; Kidd and Kidd 1970:48-49).

Range of Study

This study included all of the glass trade beads recovered from site 12-Hu-1022, Huntington County, Indiana. Both complete and fragmentary beads were included in the analysis which totaled 22 specimens, 21 complete and 1 fragmentary.

Method of Classification

For this project, I used a form derived from the example in Appendix A of Karlis Karklins's *Glass Beads* (1985) (see Appendix C). I followed the form as closely as possible for each specimen classified.

In terms of classification, it was decided to use Kidd and Kidd's system (1970) only to the distinction of type. Although Kidd and Kidd have one of the best working classification systems for glass trade beads, there are numerous problems with it when the level of determining variety is reached. I will leave the determination of variety, which can easily be established from the data which follows, regarding shape, size, color, and diaphaneity, up to the reader.

Measurements

The measurements of the beads were taken by a spreading jaws caliper to the nearest one hundredth of a millimeter. Complete beads were measured with little problem. However, fragmentary beads involved extra notation. The fragment's maximum length and diameter were measured and noted accordingly in the comment section of the form.

Structure

The composition or structure of a bead can fall within four established categories (Stone 1974:88-89). Simple beads are those "beads composed of a single, undecorated layer of glass" (Karklins 1985:105). Compound beads are "composed of two or more, undecorated layers of glass" (Karklins 1985:105). Complex refers "beads of simple structure, with decoration" (Fogelman 1991:11). Finally, composite beads are "beads of compound structure, with decoration" (Fogelman 1991:11).

Shape Designation

I attempted to keep to Kidd and Kidd's shape categories as much as possible. However, I have a few odd designations which need a little more explanation:

1) barrel = I have added this to Kidd and Kidd's shape categories, this was taken from Karklins 1994.
2) oval/round = exact shape was indeterminable, the first shape is what I would lean toward followed by the alternative shape.
3) oval-barrel = the bead is not one distinct shape but falls between categories, here I list the dominant shape first followed by the less dominant shape.

Shape of Perforation

Here too, I have stretched the simple designations in an attempt to fit the reality of the beads being analyzed. Karklins' 1985 publication *Glass Beads*, discusses the inclusion of perforation description when classifying glass beads. I have followed the same format as used for shape designation when the perforation shape falls between categories (example: cylindrical-oval = the perforation is generally cylindrical but has an oval touch to it).

Munsell Coding

Color of the beads and any decoration was measured with the use of a Munsell Chart. Unfortunately, the blues leave something to be desired in terms of matching glass bead colors, please keep this in mind.

Daiphaneity

Daiphaneity refers to the translucency of the bead. It is measured by the amount of light which passes through the body, not edges, of the bead:

> Opaque - "light does not pass through the body of the bead at all. It may along edges to a small degree" (Fogelman 1991:11).
> Translucent - "light will show through the body of the bead quite easily, but glass not clear" (Fogelman 1991:11).
> Transparent -"very clear glass, objects can or could be viewed through the beads" (Fogelman 1991:11).

Condition

Under the area of bead condition, I have first designated whether the specimen is complete or incomplete. In the case of incomplete beads, the terms parallel and perpendicular with reference to the perforation, were used to describe the angle of the break. (These words are meant to refer to general concepts rather than exact geometric planes.) This was followed by a size approximation of the remaining fragment. Finally, a more detailed explanation of the physical description is included (i.e. the degree of deterioration, any cracks visible, nicked or pitted areas present, and so on).

Comments

In this section, any additional notes about the bead were made. Especially noted would be the amount of patina and what kind (iridescent, powder white, or scaly yellow-white) if present. Also, if the bead was lopsided or had other types of irregularities due to manufacturing and any problems with identification would be discussed here.

Three different bead varieties were found at site 12-Hu-1022 as a result of this excavation. The first variety of glass bead was in all likelihood used as a necklace bead (Stone 1974:88-89) (Figure 58). A bead very similar to this variety was discovered in excavations at the Guebert site, an 18th century Kaskaskia Indian village site in Randolph County, Illinois (Good 1972:129 and plate 6). The remaining two varieties of glass beads, listed below, were often used for embroidery bead work on clothes, moccasins, and bags, sewn on fringes, woven into belts, as well as jewelry and many other types of ornamentation by Native Indians (Conn 1972:7-13; Quimby 1966:89-90). Beads of these two varieties are often referred to as seed and pony beads (Figure 59). At present, these beads are not very useful as chronological indicators due to their presence at sites throughout all periods of the fur trade, however, their popularity increased significantly in the nineteenth century.

Glass Trade Bead Classification

IIa
Popular Name: seed
Length Range: 0.95 - 1.80 mm; Average: 1.35 mm
Diameter Range: 1.35 - 2.10 mm; Average: 1.67 mm
Specimens: 18 complete
Body Shape: 7 circular, 11 barrel
Munsell Color: white N 9.25
Daiphaneity: opaque

Condition: 4 slightly deteriorated
Comments: 2 lopsided due to manufacture process, 1 has clear outer casing of glass.

IIa
Popular Name: pony (Conn 1972:7)
Length Range: 2.35 - 2.60 mm; Average: 2.48 mm
Diameter Range: 3.50 - 3.80 mm; Average: 3.65 mm
Specimens: 2 complete and fragmentary (measurements not included in range and average below)
Body Shape: 2 circular, 1 (frag.) circular/round
Munsell Color: white N 9.25
Daiphaneity: opaque
Condition: 1 bead slightly deteriorated
Comments: 1 slightly lopsided due to manufacture process, 1 has slight indent due to manufacture process, 1 (frag.) has clear outer casing of glass.

IIIb
Length: 11.00 mm; Diameter: 5.10 mm
Specimens: 1 complete
Body Shape: tubular
Munsell Color: core - white 10 B 9/1 (?), outer - white N 9.25
Daiphaneity: opaque
Condition: a number of surface cracks and slightly deteriorated
Comments: a few small areas of iridescent patina
Decoration: 4 straight simple stripes, alternating colors - 2 red 7.5 R 4/6 and 2 blue 7.5 PB 3/6.

Food Preparation and Cooking glass artifacts made up the majority of the glass artifact assemblage (n=49) and consisted entirely of container or vessel glass. Three colors glass were present, olive green, aqua and clear. Olive green glass was most frequent, numbering 43 shards. The 31 olive green glass shards recovered from Feature 6 in units 33N 38E and 35N 38E appear to represent the partial remains of a single olive green wine bottle. Partial reconstruction of the base of this bottle revealed it to be what McKearin and McKearin refer to as a Type 9 wine or spirit bottle (1948:425). These bottles are described as having a:

> ... tall body, more rounded shoulders [than the earlier Type 8 bottles], more smoothly finished and slightly sloping lip just above the laid on ring; very deep kick-up [Mckearin and McKearin 1948:425].

Type 9 bottles had a height of 10 7/8" and a diameter of 3 1/2". Partial reconstruction of the 12-Hu-1022 specimen shows it to have had a diameter of 3 1/2" (Figure 60). The circa 1790-1810 date range for Type 9 bottles fits nicely with the known occupation date of the site (McKearin and McKearin 1948:425). The single olive green wine bottle lip fragment was recovered from the surface of the site and is characterized by a string rim profile and is consistent with the lip and neck forms common on Type 9 bottles. The remaining eleven olive green shards are not diagnostic as to bottle type. The 4 shards of aqua vessel glass--2 from Feature 6, 1 from Feature 10 and 1 from the surface--are too small to be diagnostic as to vessel types represented, but are likely from small vials. The two clear glass vessel shards--1 from Feature 6 and 1 from Feature 10--are also not diagnostic as to vessel types.

The five shards of flat glass assigned to the Personal group are somewhat problematic. Flat glass from archaeological sites is generally interpreted to represent the shattered remains of window pane glass. The minuscule quantity of the flat glass recovered at 12-Hu-1022 argues against that interpretation, for even a single pane of broken window glass would result in far greater quantities of flat glass on the site. It is inconceivable that if glass windows had been present in the log houses destroyed by American troops in 1812 that they would not have been shattered. The almost complete excavation of one of these log houses and surrounding sheet midden (Feature 6) resulted in the recovery of only two shards of flat glass. Only one shard was recovered from Feature 10. The two additional shards were found on the site surface. Burning glasses, small hand-held magnifying glasses used to start fires, offer a more plausible explanation for the

origin of the flat glass on the site. Burning glasses were standard items in the fur trade from at least the mid-17th century on ("The Engages" 1979:5). Though they varied in appearance, typical burning glasses were "circles of glass of small diameter set in a circle of wire and furnished with a short handle of the same material" (Brown 1918:72). Typical burning glasses are illustrated in "The Engages" (1979) and Neumann and Kravic (1989:182). A similar specimen has been recovered from the Cicott Trading Post site (12-Wa-59), an early 19th century fur trader's post in Warren County, Indiana (see Mann 1994). That burning glasses were readily available to the Miami at the forks of the Wabash is evidenced by an 1805 inventory of goods present at the Indian factory at Fort Wayne, 13 "burning glasses" are among the items listed (Griswold 1927:443).

A single, very small, shard of glass recovered from a fine screen sample is the only glass artifact assigned to the Other group. It is unidentifiable as to type.

Clay

Clay artifacts number 260 on the site. Of these, 27 can confidently be attributed to the Miami occupation of the site. These 27 artifacts, belonging to two functional groups--Food Preparation and Consumption (n=15) and Tobacco Use (n=12)--comprise 6.2% of the total 19th century artifact assemblage. The Other group (n=233) consists of ambiguous and prehistoric clay artifacts.

Clay artifacts of the Food Preparation and Consumption functional group consist entirely of Euro-american ceramics. Both refined--creamware (n=2), pearlware (n=10) and porcelain (n=1)--and unrefined--redware (n=2)--earthenwares were recovered. The two creamware sherds, one from the site surface and one from Feature 6, are the light yellow variety of creamware, popular in North America from ca. 1775 until ca. 1820 (Noël Hume 1970:126-128; South 1978:72). Both creamware sherds are plain, that is they display no decorative motif. Plain, undecorated creamware was relatively inexpensive and was popular from ca. 1790 through the early years of the 19th century (Noël Hume 1970:126).

Pearlwares make up the majority (66.6%) of the Euro-american ceramics from the site. Pearlware surpassed creamware in popularity sometime between 1800 and 1810, becoming the most common tableware in North America (Price 1982:10; Lofstrom et al. 1982:5). Although pearlwares were almost invariably decorated, four small sherds, two from Feature 6, one from Feature 10 and one from the site surface, are plain. These sherds are likely from the undecorated portions of otherwise decorated pearlware vessels. The remaining 6 pearlware sherds are from a single, small, thin bodied, handpainted saucer (Figure 61a-e). The handpainted decorative motif on these sherds consists of a polychrome floral design, often referred to as fineline and sprig. This motif generally depicts blue, or orange to yellow flowers with green leaves and brown stems. These "soft pastels" were popular on pearlware from ca. 1795 until at least 1815 and perhaps a bit later in the midwest (Noël Hume 1970:129; Price 1979:21). The 12-Hu-1022 specimens display blue flowers with green leaves and brown stems, as well as various blue dots, brown lines and a brown band around the rim of the vessel. Wagner and McCorvie (1990:297), following Miller (1988), hypothesize that brown-stemmed flowers pre-date 1830. These dates and conceptions are consistent with the known occupation dates for 12-Hu-1022.

A single sherd of porcelain, with overglaze blue enameling highlighted with gold gilding, rounds out the refined earthenwares (Figure 61f). It remains unclear as to whether this sherd, found in Feature 6, represents a Chinese export porcelain vessel or the British imitation of these wares known as "bone china", either appear to have been fairly common during the early years of the 19th century (Noël Hume 1970:257-261; Wagner and McCorvie 1990:324-325).

Both redware sherds were recovered from Feature 6. Both have been glazed with a clear lead glaze (Figure 61g-h). One, a rim sherd, appears to have been from a small pot or bowl. Redwares are generally considered utilitarian wares, associated with the storage and preparation of foods and beverages. Such a function is proposed for the redware from 12-Hu-1022.

The inclusion of the refined earthenwares, generally assumed to be tablewares, in the Food Preparation and Consumption group, however, is problematic. In a recent study of ceramics in the early to mid 19th century Trans-Mississippi West, Lees and Majewski have noted that most models of consumer choice [of ceramics] are capitalistic ... and that ceramics share a relatively consistent function across cultures" (1993:5). For Native Americans, though, they suggest that perceptions of ceramics may have differed from Euro-americans that "profoundly affected their choice of ceramics" (1993:5). At Shawnee and

Potawatomi habitation sites in Kansas they found that while ceramics did play an important role as utilitarian items, they "clearly" had a broader function within native societies (1993:6). Furthermore, they hypothesize that "hand-painted ... wares were purposefully selected because they are consistent with long-standing artistic traditions of the Native American groups in question" (1993:7).

While Lees and Majewski emphasize the preliminary nature of their findings, several points in their study are well taken in regard to the refined earthenwares from 12-Hu-1022. First, that these ceramics functioned in a much broader context within Miami society than as mere tablewares is evident. Indeed, the scarcity of refined earthenwares convincingly argues against the utilitarian function of these ceramics. Secondly, it is perhaps significant that the vast majority of the refined earthenwares are from a single handpainted pearlware saucer. This fits nicely with the pattern observed by Lees and Majewski. However, it is by no means clear that by the early 19th century floral motifs were an established and longstanding aspect of Native American artistic traditions (see Penny 1991). It may simply have been that other common decorative motifs such as transfer prints, with pastoral and other scenes depicting Euro-american practices and values, held no intrinsic or aesthetic value for Native Americans.

The possibility that Euro-american ceramics functioned symbolically within Miami society conforms more closely to Lees and Majewskis' concept of a broader function of ceramics in Native American cultures (1993:6). To eat from a common dish (i.e. a wooden bowl) was a "standard Algonquian metaphor of peace, alliance and friendship" (White 1991:441). In 1787, Jean Marie Philippe Le Gras, a respected Vincennes French Canadian trader, addressed all the Wabash tribes, including the Miami, and urged them toward peace with the Americans. In doing so, he appealed to the ancient friendship between the French and the Indians, "Remember that the French has kindled the first fire with your ancestors in this Land, that our old men have always eat out of the same dish and that they never told lies to one another" (William L. Clements Library Harmar Papers). The possibility that the refined earthenware from the site, and particularily the pearlware saucer, fulfilled a symbolic rather than utilitarian function should not be overlooked. This issue will be taken up again in Chapter 11.

Twelve clay pipes are assigned to the Tobacco Use group. Two varieties of pipes were recovered, white clay pipes (n=6) and short or stub stemmed pipes (n=6). Of the white clay pipes, 5 are stem fragments, 3 from Feature 10, 1 from Feature 6 and 1 from the site surface (Figure 62b-f). Unfortunately, none of the stem fragments exhibit any decoration. The single white clay bowl, found in Feature 6, has been badly burned (Figure 62g). It, too, is undecorated. The six stub stemmed pipe fragments are thought to be the remains of a single apple green lead glazed Moravian anthropomorphic (?) pipe; four of the fragments mended to form about one-quarter of the pipe bowl (Figure 62a). These pipes were made in two piece molds by skilled Moravian potters in North Carolina and while most were anthropomorphic in design, smooth and minimally decorated pipes were made (South 1965). The 12-Hu-1022 specimen exhibits an undulating band of raised dots around the rim of the pipe bowl and while no other decorative motif is fully present, the hint of further decoration can be observed at the point where the pipe broke at the base of the bowl. It is that portion of the bowl which would have had the anthropomorphic design. Moravian pipes were apparently brought to the western frontier during the late 18th and early 19th centuries by Moravian missionaries. At the Tellico Blockhouse in 1799 two Moravians, Steiner and Schweinitz, distributed Moravian pipes "as tokens of good will and for services rendered" and these or similar specimens were recovered during archaeological excavations at the site (Polhemus 1977:255). In 1801 the Moravians established a mission among the Delaware living on the White River (Gipson 1938). These Moravians would seem a likely place of origin for the Moravian pipes found at 12-Hu-1022. Brother J. P. Kluge of the White River mission wrote in 1806, "With the chief of the Twechtoe or Miami nation I am well aquatinted, frequently have preached to him the gospel of salvation ... " (Gipson 1938:572-573). The Miami, including this unnamed chief, were regular, though infrequent visitors to the White River mission.

In the Other group are the remaining 233 clay artifacts, consisting of burned clay (n=229) and prehistoric ceramics (n=4). The burned clay is ambiguous. However, a few pieces are very likely daub and at least one large piece from Feature 6 shows wood grain impressions on one side. Perhaps this and other pieces were used as chinking in the log structure associated with Feature 6. The prehistoric ceramic sherds, all recovered from Feature 6 Area B, are too small and eroded to be of much use as diagnostic tools. The most that can be said is that they point to a previous Woodland occupation at the site, a fact already established by the presence of Woodland points at the site.

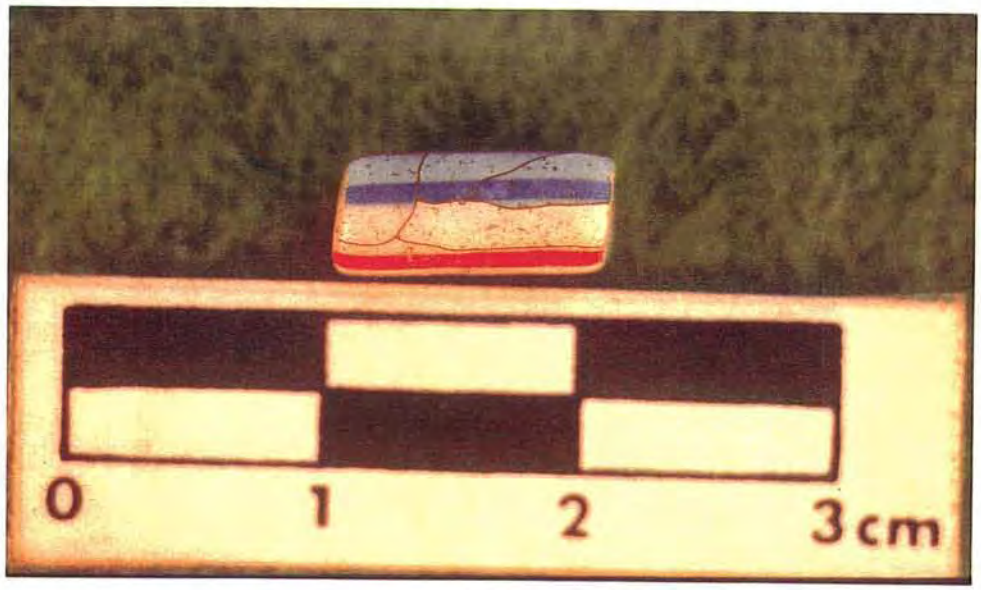


Figure 56. 12-Hu-1022 Arms Related Artifacts.
Figure 58. Necklace Bead.

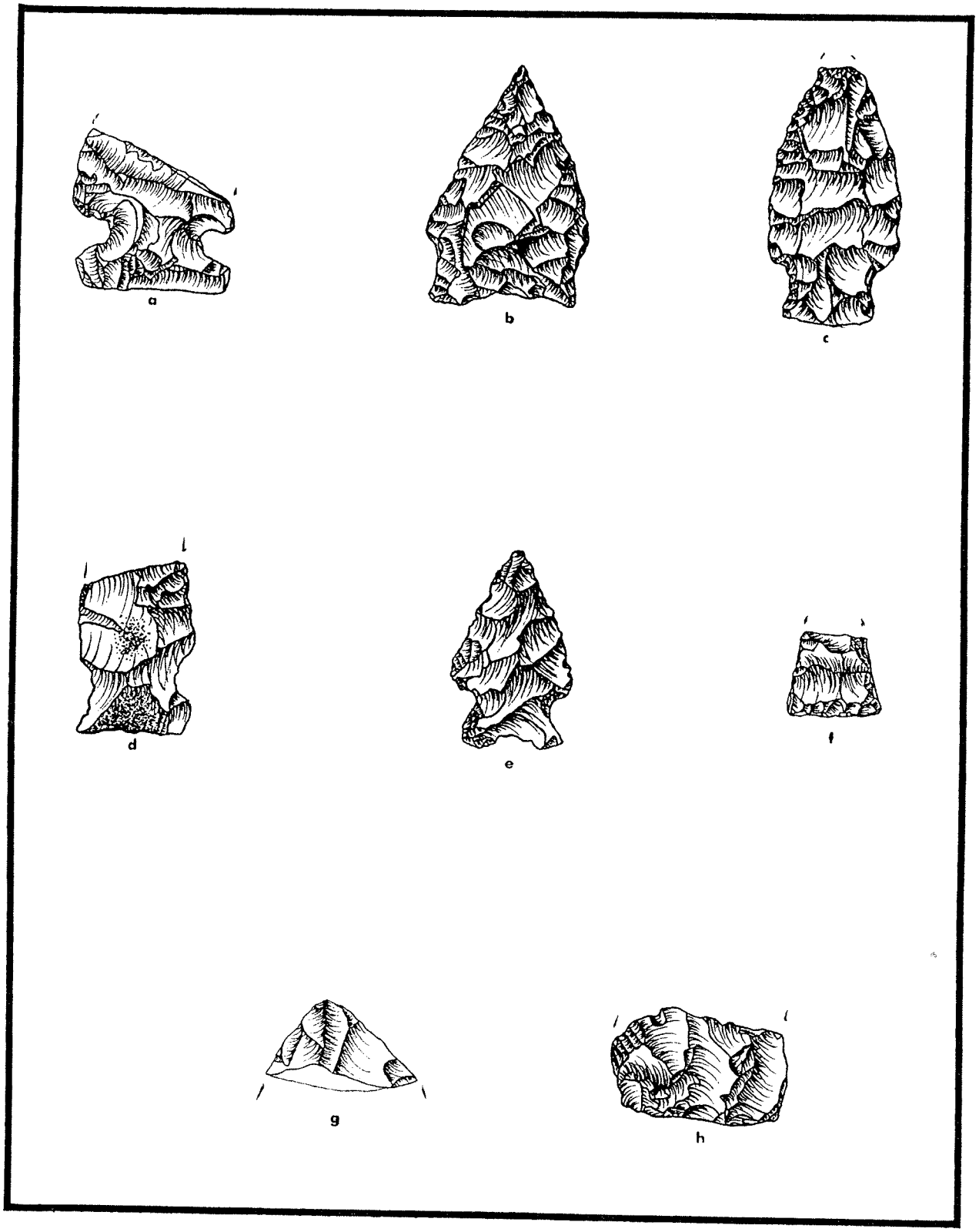


Figure 57. 12-Hu-1022 Projectile Points.

Figure 59. 12-Hu-1022 Seed Beads.

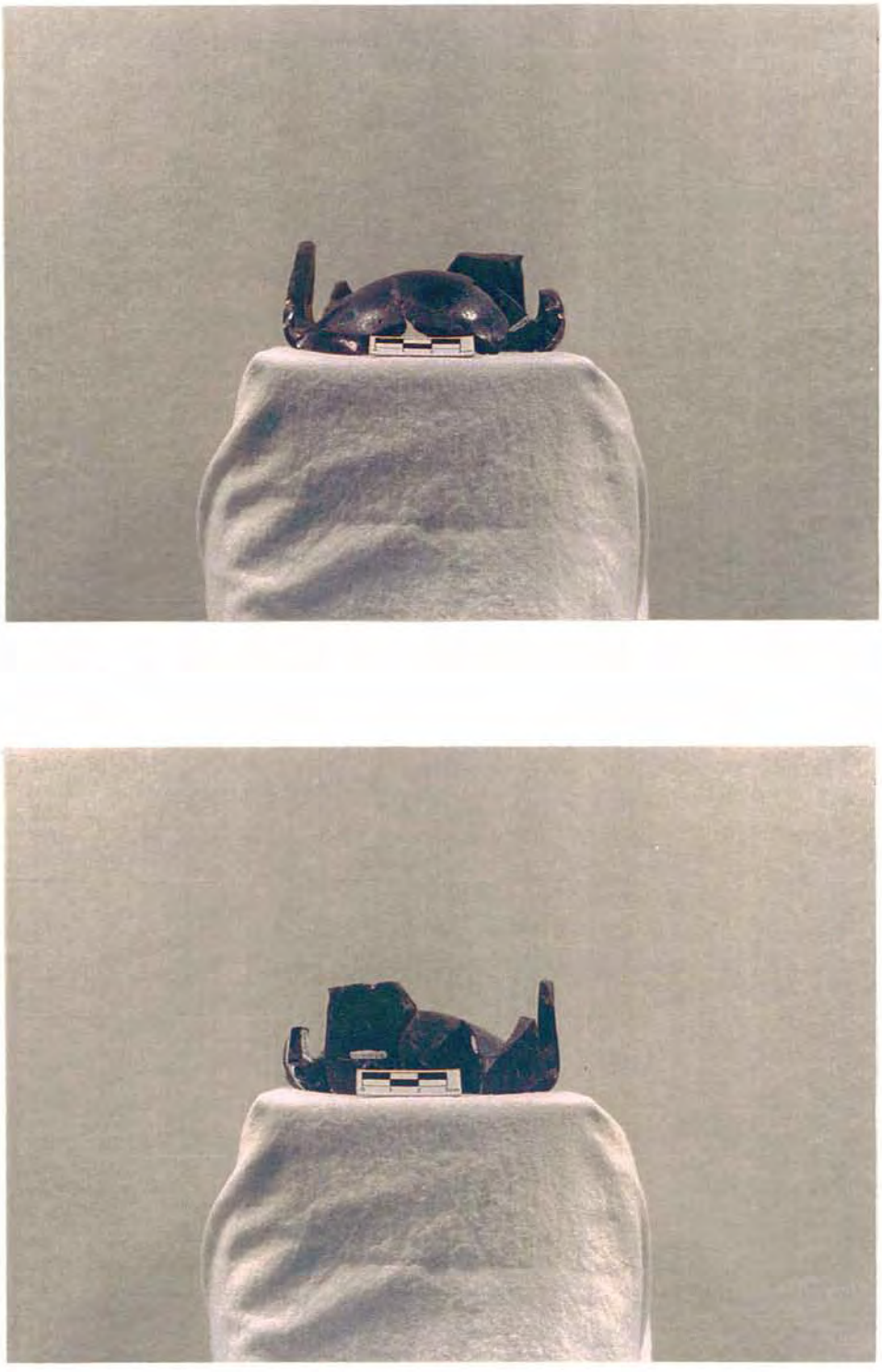


Figure 60. Reconstructed Wine Bottle Base.

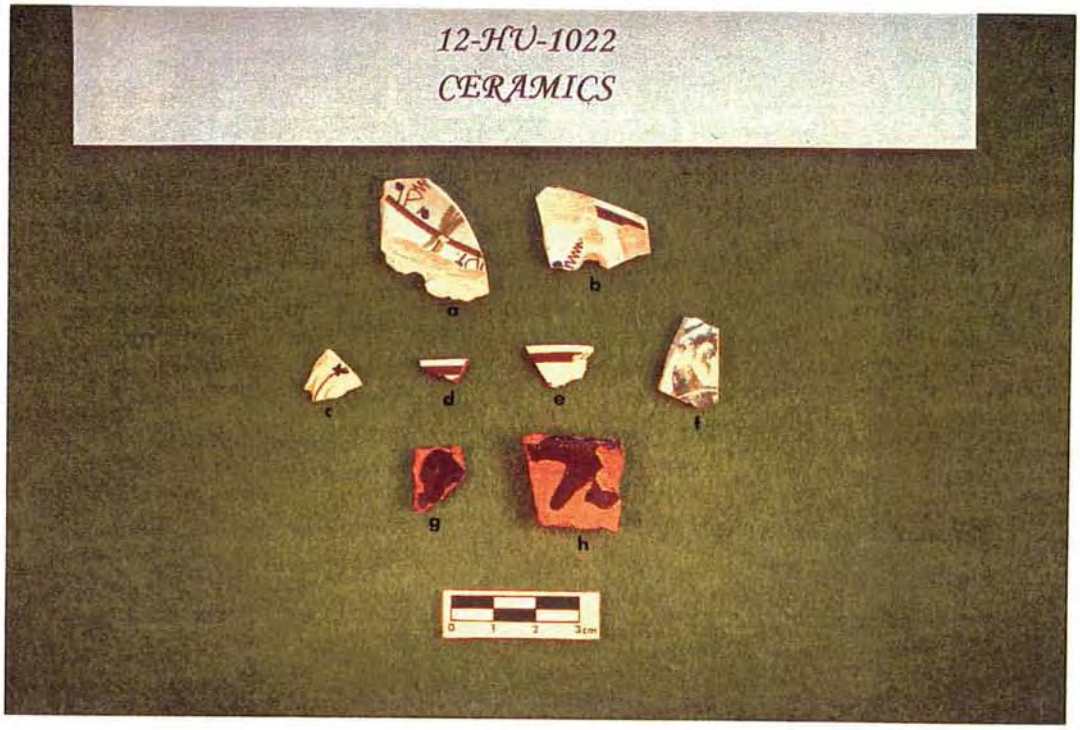
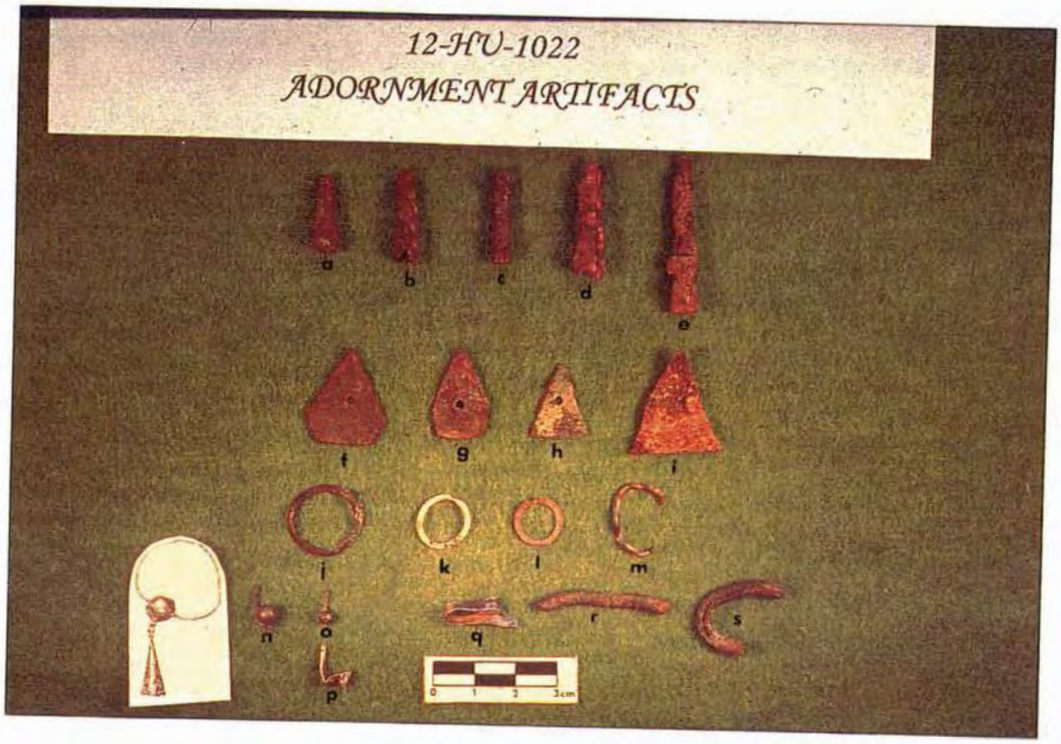


Figure 61. 12-Hu-1022 Ceramics.
Figure 62. 12-Hu-1022 Smoking Pipes and Jaw Harps.



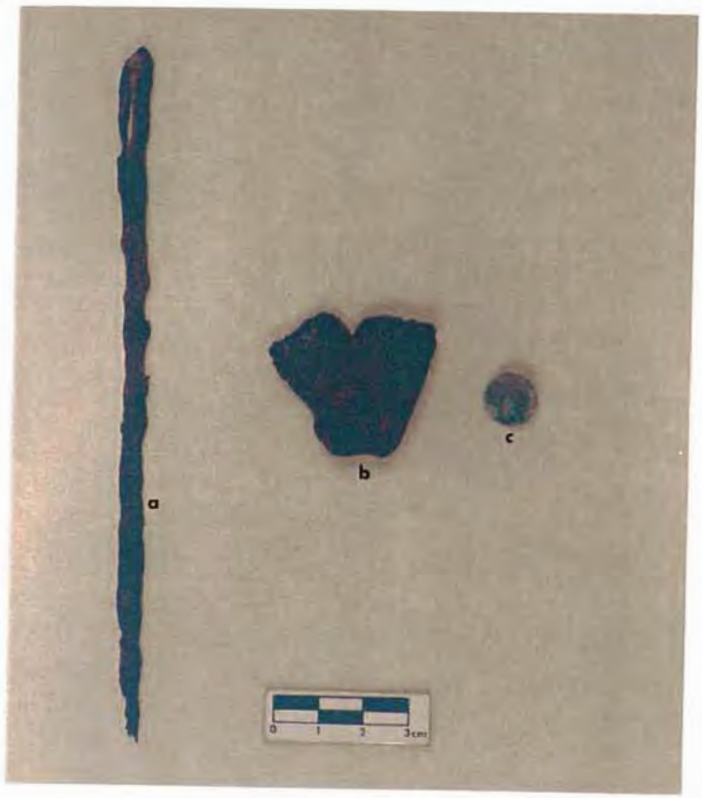


Figure 63. 12-Hu-1022 Adornment Artifacts.
Figure 65. 12-Hu-1022 Clothing Artifacts.

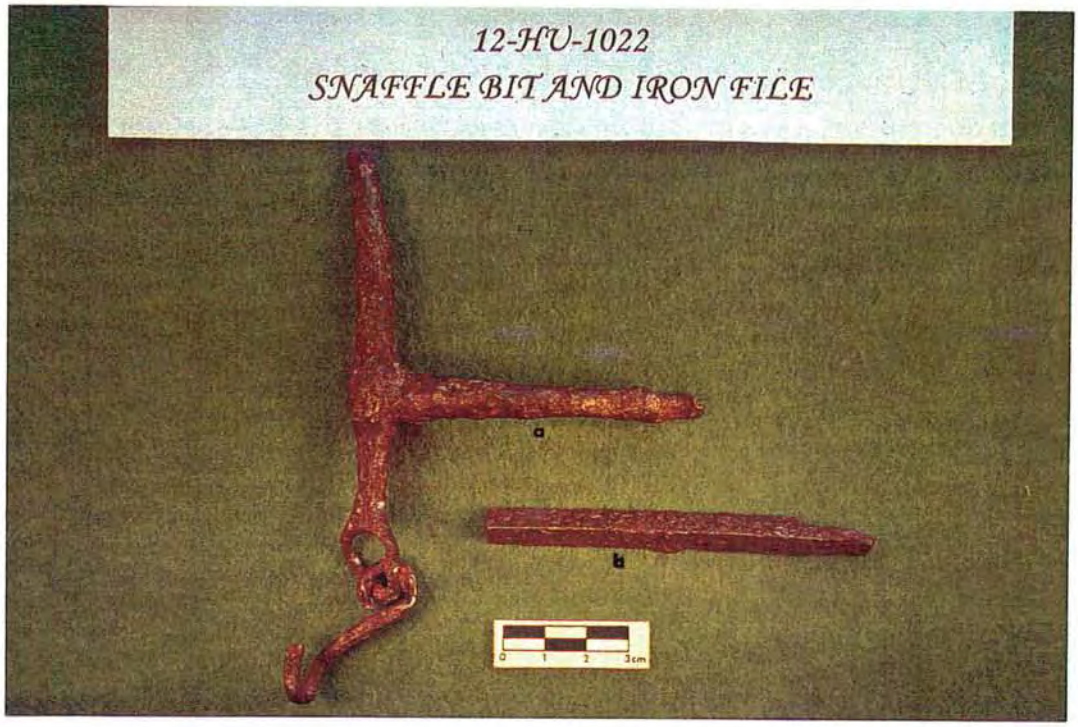


Figure 66. 12-Hu-1022 Maintenance and Transportation Artifacts.
Figure 67. 12-Hu-1022 Metal Working Artifacts.

Metal

A total of 302 metal artifacts were recovered. All but three are attributed to the Miami occupation of the site. These three artifacts post date the Miami occupation, they are included in the Other functional group. The remaining 299 artifacts, 68.1 % of the early 19th century assemblage, have been assigned to eleven functional groups; Adornment (n=91), Arms Related (n=72), Structural (n=20), Metal Working (n=20), Clothing (n=5), Food Preparation and Consumption (n=4), Personal (n=2), Maintenance (n=1), Transportation (n=1), and Unidentifiable (n=81). Two early 19th century metal artifacts were assigned to the Other group, bringing the total to five (n=5) in that group.

Metal adornment artifacts were the most common, non-faunal artifact type found at 12-Hu-1022. They were made variously from tin (actually tinned sheet iron), silver, copper/brass and pewter. Tin triangles appeared in greater frequencies than other types of metal adornment artifacts, numbering 57 on the site. It will be remembered that of these, 44 were found clustered within Feature 9 in unit 23N 41W (see Figure 53). Many of these had so badly disintegrated that only very small fragments remained, but soil stains surrounding them allowed for an accurate count. Features 6 and 10 contained the remaining 13 tin triangles (Figure 63i). None of the tin triangles are perforated and their inclusion in the Adornment group requires some explanation. Other researchers (Mason 1986:202-203 and Berkson 1992:148 for example) have routinely interpreted these artifacts as metal projectile points. While the possibility that the 12-Hu-1022 specimens are in fact metal projectile points cannot be ruled out, a couple of points argue against that interpretation. First, tin would seem to be a poor choice for the manufacture of metal projectile points, be they for hunting or warfare. The pliability of tin, would, I believe, render it ineffectual as a source material for projectile points. Also, were these weapons, it seems unlikely that even in their haste to abandon the village in September 1812, the Miami would have left behind the cache of tin triangles found in Feature 9. Both interpretations seem somewhat speculative at the present and further evidence is needed to clear up this issue. Whatever their function, that these tin triangles were being manufactured on site is evidenced by the numerous tin scraps found across the site, one large scrap even showing where two such triangles were cut (Figure 67).

Less ambiguous adornment artifacts include the 12 tinkling cones recovered at the site (Figure 63a-e). All twelve appear to be made of tin, and like the tin triangles, were almost certainly made by the Miami at the site. Tinkling cones are commonly found on historic aboriginal sites occupied throughout the 18th and 19th centuries in the Great Lakes region (see Mason 1986, Brown 1975, Jones 1988, Wagner 1995). These rolled scraps of tin were usually attached in large numbers to the fringes of clothing, pouches and moccasins. They could also be worn in the hair or dangled in bunches from the earlobes (see Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:Plates 22, 24, 27, 28, 30 and Karklins 1992:11-53 for the myriad ways tinkling cones were used by Algonquian peoples). The effect was a pleasant tinkling sound produced when the wearer moved.

Silver adornment items of the kinds produced by Euro-americans specifically for the fur and Indian trade include brooches, ear-bobs and a silver finger ring. The Moravians found the Miami who visited in 1802 "ornamented all over with silver; one of them had $80 in silver of various shapes hanging on his person (Gipson 1938:181). Circular brooches of various sizes were the most numerous of all the trade silver. These simple trinkets were amazingly abundant during the fur and Indian trade era (see Fredrickson 1980). At 12-Hu-1022 10 silver brooches or fragments thereof were recovered (Figure 63j-m). Whole brooches indicate that at least three different sizes of brooches were worn; small (1.22 cm diameter), medium (1.3 cm diameter) and large (1.78 cm diameter). The inventories of the Indian factory at Fort Wayne lists literally thousands of "broaches" of various sizes (Griswold 1927:405-663). George Winter, described the typical fashion in which Indian women wore these circular brooches when he painted a Potawatomi woman named D-mouche-kee-kee-awh, " ... she was as her likeness indicates --*'plated'* with silver broaches, the very ne plus ultra of an Indian woman's toilette" (Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:76, Plate 27). As with tinkling cones, brooches were worn in a wide variety of ways by both men and women (see Karklins 1992:52; Fredrickson 1980:49-52). The ca. 1794 sketch of Pacane shows him wearing a multitude of small, circular brooches across the front shoulders of his shirt (Figure 13).

Silver ear-bobs were also popular among the Great Lakes Algonquians. Four silver ear-bobs were recovered from the site, all from Feature 6 (Figure 63n-p). None are complete, two are top portions and two are bottom portions, a complete ear-bob is shown alongside the 12-Hu-1022 specimens in Figure 63.

The two tops consists of two small, silver hemispheres from which project the wires which passed through the ear lobe and were secured in tiny holes on the opposite sides and small eyelets on the bottoms of the hemispheres, from which the bobs or cones could be suspended. The bottom portions are two silver cones which would have been suspended from silver hemispheres. Like tinkling cones, ear-bobs were often worn in great clusters in each ear.

The final silver adornment item in the 12-Hu-1022 assemblage is a small, unadorned, silver band, interpreted here as a finger ring (Figure 63q). It has been folded in on itself, making it difficult to ascertain its original diameter. Simple band finger rings were apparently worn, several on each hand, by both men and women throughout the Great Lakes region (Karklins 1992:52; Fredrickson 1980:52-56).

Adornment items made from copper/brass were restricted to three centrally perforated triangles, two C-shaped bracelet fragments, a portion of a small bell and a single tack. Like the tin triangles discussed above, the copper/brass triangles are thought to be pendants or other such ornaments. Two are well made and may be of Euro-american manufacture (Figure 63f-g). The third was almost certainly cut from a copper/brass kettle or other sheet brass container and made on site by the Miami (Figure 63h). The admonishment concerning the function of these artifacts that was given concerning the tin triangles applies here. The two C-shaped bracelets are merely shaped pieces of round copper/brass rods (Figure 63r-s). Similar artifacts were recovered at Fort Michilimackinac (Stone 1974134-135). The copper/brass bell fragment is of the type commonly referred to as hawk bells. Following the terminology for the components for hawk bells given by Stone (1974:135), the 12-Hu-1022 specimen would be one-half of the crown of the bell. It has been broken along the slit which ran across the crown, connecting small round holes at either end (Figure 64). In his survey of trade ornament usage Karklins (1992) found that eastern woodland peoples adorned themselves with bells in many ways. Beyond their general use on clothing, similar to tinkling cones, he found that bells were used on anklets, belts, leggings, as ear and hair ornaments as well as on dog collars (1992:51). The final copper/brass artifact considered here is a small brass tack. Like other mundane Euro-american items, brass tacks were often incorporated by native peoples into adornment schemes, not anticipated by Euro-american manufacturers. Again, Karklins found among tribes of the eastern woodlands that tacks were used to adorn tobacco pipe stems, tomahawk handles and war clubs (1992:53). As these items were often considered essential parts of personal ornamentation, the copper/brass tack is herein considered an adornment artifact.

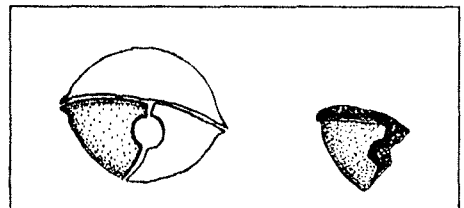


Figure 64. Hawk Bell

All of the Arms Related metal artifacts were made from lead and consist of lead balls (n=3), lead shot (n=28) lead spillage (n=39) and lead sprue (n=2). The three lead balls, one from Feature 6, one from Feature 6, Area B and one from Feature 10, are expended and somewhat flattened by impact (Figure 56). They probably represent balls used during hunting and brought back to the village in the carcasses of killed game. Being expended, it is difficult to estimate the caliber of these lead balls, however, they were very likely for use in small caliber trade guns. The twenty-eight specimens of lead shot were recovered mostly by small artifact recovery techniques (i. e. flotation and fine screening) and were found in Features 6, 8, 9 and 10 (Figure 56). Sizes of lead shot recovered were; 6mm (n=1), 5mm (n=2), 4mm (n=1), 3mm (n=1) and 2mm (n=22). One expended specimen of shot, ca. 6mm, was also recovered. Two pieces of lead sprue are the remains of lead used in the manufacture of lead balls in a gang mold and are evidence for the manufacture of lead ammunition on site by the Miami. The remaining 39 specimens of lead are miscellaneous, amorphously shaped fragments of lead interpreted here to be spillage or waste from the manufacture of lead balls and lead shot by the Miami occupants of the site.

As the above discussion indicates, the Miami were not merely passive consumers in the complex economics of the fur and Indian trade. Ample evidence that the Miami engaged in metal working activities at the site suggests that they regularly supplemented what they were able to obtain in trade by refashioning worn out tin and copper/brass containers into personal adornment items such as triangular pendants and tinkling cones. The Metal Working functional group consists of twenty (n=20) scraps of metal thought to represent metal working activities. Tinkling cones, ubiquitous on historic frontier sites of the fur trade era, apparently were solely the result of localized craft industries, produced either by the Indians themselves or nearby traders (see Morand 1994:26-28). The tinkling cones and most of the triangles recovered at 12-Hu-

1022 are made of tin. Sixteen (n-16) scraps of tin were found at the site which appear to the result of just such craft activities, producing those types of artifacts (Figure 67a-f). One large piece of what may have been a tin kettle clearly shows evidence of the manufacture of tin triangles (Figure 67e). A single (n=1), small scrap of copper/brass indicates that containers of that type were also reworked when worn out. The relative lack of copper/brass scraps as compared to the tin scraps is interesting and seems to be a reflection of change from the copper kettles and other containers so popular during the 17th and 18th centuries to tinned sheet iron containers, which were being extensively used by the War of 1812. The inventories at the Fort Wayne Indian factory during the years preceding the war also document this shift. While brass kettles are still occasionally listed among the goods, an amazing assortment of tin containers, including kettles, cups, canteens, pans and coffee pots, were being shipped to the frontier (Griswold 192405-663).

Other evidence of metal working at the site includes three (n=3) small scraps of trade silver (Figure 67g-h). The largest exhibits an incised dot and line pattern indicating that it was once part of a larger silver ornament such as an armband or gorget.

Structural artifacts made from metal (n=20) were limited to nails, both hand wrought (n=1) and cut square nails (n=18) and a single (n=1) iron tack. The nails were found in Feature 6 (n=14), Feature 10 (n=3) and Feature 9 (n=1). The low number of nails, generally considered architectural hardware, is not unexpected on historic Native American sites. The presence of the log structure on the east end of the site should not hamper this generalization for even Euro-american log structures of the early 19th century frontier were often constructed with only minimal use of iron nails (see Wagner and McCorvie 1990:363). The log architecture of the Miami may have been even less reliant on construction hardware, with fewer windows and doors and fewer flooring and roofing components which generally require iron nails as fasteners.

The Clothing functional group is minimally represented in the 12-Hu-1022 artifact assemblage. Only five (n=5) artifacts could be assigned to this group. Of these, four directly relate to the production and maintenance of clothing. They are a needle, a scissors fragment, and two brass straight pins. The needle is a large triangular pointed "common needle" with a slit eye hole (Figure 65a). It measures 16 cm in length and is similar to Stone's (1974:159) Class I, Series A, Type 2 "Common pointed needles. One metal object is interpreted as being a scissors fragment (Figure 65b). Little can be said about this artifact except that scissors are common items on historic Native American and fur trade sites. The same can be said about the two brass straight pins. The final Clothing artifact is a small, round brass button, which may also relate to the manufacture or maintenance of clothing (Figure 65c). It has a plain, unadorned face and does not appear to have been stamped on the back.

Food Preparation and Consumption artifacts in the metal artifact assemblage from the site consist of four (n=4) items. They are two iron knife blade fragments, an iron kettle bail fragment and a partial handle from a tin cup. The proliferation of tin vessels at the beginning of the 19th century has previously been noted. This artifact is merely another indication of that trend. It might also be noted that tin cup and other tin vessel usage by the Miami is demonstrated by at least two historic accounts. In 1821 Thomas Scattergood Teas visited the house of La Fontaine, a Miami of French Canadian and Miami heritage. Teas described dining with this Miami family:

> Our supper was served up in a curious style. The table was set with a tin bucket of young Hyson tea, in which a proper proportion of sugar and milk were mixed, a tin basin of fried venison, another of butter, and a third of wheat cakes, two tin cups, and two knives. My host made an apology for the want of forks, that they had not got into the way of using them yet. [Lindley 1916:249].

George Winter, it will be remembered, noted that the Miami chief Captain Flowers was buried with his tin cup for his use in the afterlife (Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:128). The kettle bail fragment, while possibly from a copper/brass kettle, is more likely from a tin kettle. The two iron knife blades are too small and fragmentary to be identified any further.

Two metal artifacts were assigned to the Personal group. They are both jaw harps (Figure 62h-i). One is a small, iron jaw harp which most similarly corresponds to Stone's (1974:141-143) Series B, Type 2, Variety b iron jaw harps with triangular frame heads. The second is a tinned iron jaw harp that most closely

approximates Stone's (1974:14-142) Series B, Type 2, Variety a iron jaw harps with round to slightly oval frame heads. Both iron and "Tined iron Jew harps" are common entries in the Fort Wayne Indian factory inventories for the years 1802 through 1811(Griswold 1927:405-663).

A single, triangular, three sided file makes up the Maintenance functional group (Figure 66b). The blade of this file measures 8cm in length and ca. 1cm on each of the three sides. The hand wrought, tapered tail, sometimes refereed to as a rat tail, is mostly missing. Files of this type were a necessary part of blacksmithing and gunsmithing tool kits. It is evidence that the Miami were performing at least some minor repairs on their weapons or other Euro-american implements. William Northcutt and the Kentucky militia found a "Set of Blacksmiths tools" at the forks of the Wabash village in 1812 (Clift 1958:171). The 12-Hu-1022 file was likely part of such a tool set.

Evidence for the presence of horses at 12-Hu-1022 is limited to a partial snaffle or watering bit, the only artifact in the Transportation functional group (Figure 66a). Similar specimens have been recovered from Revolution era camps. They are described by Neumann and Kravic as having "favored a straight cheekpiece with a central rein loop and, in most cases, a jointed bit" (1989:158). The 12-Hu-1022 specimen represents the almost complete remains of one-half of such a jointed snaffle bit.

The remaining eighty-six metal artifacts recovered during Phase III operations at 12-Hu-1022 belong to the Unidentifiable and Other groups. Unidentified metal artifacts include eighty-one (n=81) pieces of iron or tin (tinned sheet iron) that were too fragmentary, corroded, friable or disintegrated to identify. Doubtless, many of these are fragments of the tin containers used in various capacities by the Miami. Artifacts assigned to the Other group include two artifacts which date to the Miami occupation of the site but for which no positive identification could be made. One is an unidentified iron object recovered from Feature 10, the refuse pit (Figure 68). The second is a small disc of pewter with a large centrally place

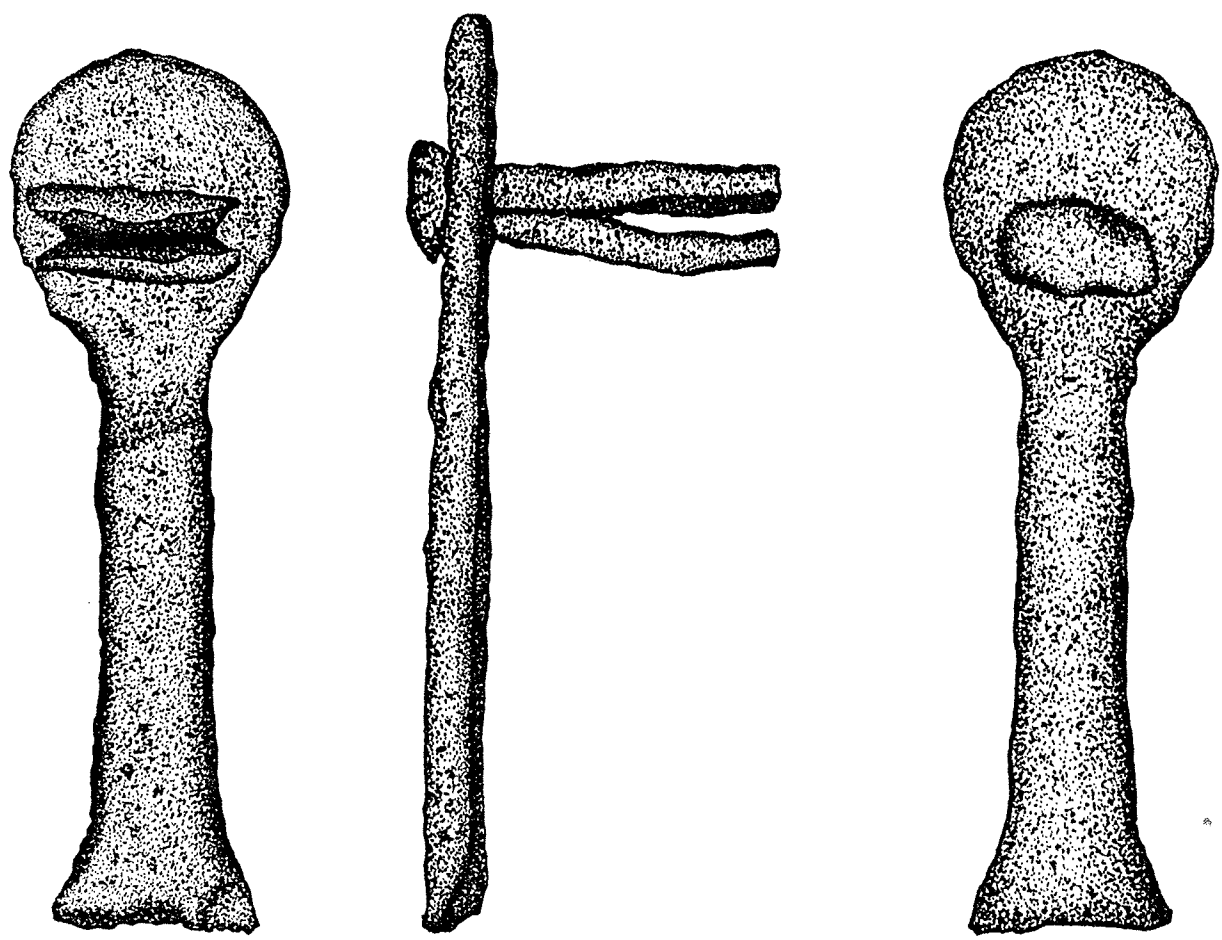


Figure 68. Unidentified Iron Object.

perforation found in Feature 6 (Figure 69). The function of both of these 19th century artifacts remains unclear at the present time. Three metal artifacts post date the Miami occupation of the site. They are an iron spike and iron hook found in the plow zone and a late 19th century copper penny found at the interface of the plow zone and tow path in unit 33N 38E. It is badly corroded and only the first three digits of the date on the coin are legible (189?).

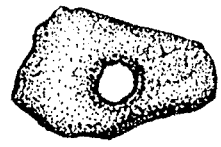


Figure 69. Pewter Disc.

The ranking of Miami period artifacts by functional groups is presented in Table 7.

Table 7. 12-Hu-1022 Functional Group Rankings.

Rank	Functional Group	Total Artifacts	%
1	Adornment	113	25.7
2	Arms Related	108	24.6
3	Unidentified	81	18.5
4	Food Preparation and Consumption	68	15.5
5	Structural	20	4.6
5	Metal Working	20	4.6
6	Tobacco Use	12	2.7
7	Personal	7	1.6
8	Clothing	5	1.1
9	Other	3	0.7
10	Maintenance	1	0.2
10	Transportation	1	0.2

Chapter 8. Animal Remains from 12-Hu-1022

by
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Introduction

Until very recently, archaeological research on the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Indiana has tended to concentrate on early European settlements with Native American sites receiving much less attention (Trubowitz 1992:242). As interest increases in studies of cultural assimilation and acculturation, however, historic Native American sites are being sought (Jones 1988; Martin 1991). Such sites have great research potential for subsistence studies since animal remains typically far outnumber all other artifacts and debris (Trubowitz 1992:249). The discovery of site 12-Hu-1022 under the tow path of the Wabash and Erie Canal in Huntington County, Indiana, provides an opportunity to examine the later part of a succession of Miami villages in the area from the head of the so-called Long Portage to the forks of the Wabash (Glenn 1991). Economic patterns at these locations should be perceived in the context of dynamic cultural interactions that occurred during this complex historical period (White 1991:447-454).

Over 3,000 animal remains were recovered from excavations at the site in 1994. The well-preserved faunal assemblage was obtained from an extensive sheet midden (Feature 6) in the eastern portion of the site and a large circular refuse pit that extended beneath this midden in the northeastern area. In addition to providing basic information on animals that were exploited as dietary staples by the Miami, the faunal assemblage from 12-Hu-1022 constitutes baseline data from which to study changes in Miami subsistence patterns over time in the upper Wabash River area. For example, animal remains from a series of systematically excavated Miami habitation sites should provide insights into the increased importance of domestic livestock and fishing on native foodways, which in earlier times were based on bison. In order to gain a better understanding of Miami selection of local animal populations, a model of animal resource availability at 12-Hu-1022 is presented.

Methods

Animal remains from 12-Hu-1022 were examined by the authors at the Illinois State Museum's Research and Collections Center in Springfield, where an extensive collection of modern vertebrate skeletons and freshwater mussel shells are available for reference. Tags printed on acid-free, archive-quality paper were completed for each identified specimen and each lot of unidentified specimens. Specimens and accompanying tags were placed within 2 mil polyethylene zipper bags. Included is information on archaeological provenience, animal taxon represented, anatomical element, side, portion of element, condition of epiphyseal closure (if present), completeness, weight of the specimen(s) in grams, natural modifications (e.g., carnivore- and/or rodent-gnawing), and cultural modifications (e.g., burning and cut marks). Standard lengths of fish were estimated for each identified bone by referring to bones from modern fish of known size in the comparative collection. Refitted fragmented specimens were counted as one. All information was then entered into a dBase III Plus file in order to facilitate the analysis.

Summary calculations presented in tables include the number of identified specimens (NISP), minimum number of individuals (MNI) per taxon, total weight of specimens per taxon in grams, and biomass (in kg) for each taxon. Estimates of MNI were calculated *both* from individual features and from the site at large based on element, symmetry, element portion, and biological age or body size. Biomass estimates were derived from allometric scaling. As described by Reitz and Scarry (1985:18), "the weight of the archaeological bone is used in an allometric formula [see Reitz and Scarry 1985:67] to predict the quantity of biomass for the skeletal mass recovered rather than the total original weight of the individual animal represented by the recovered bone." This approach avoids the problem of basing meat estimates on MNI and determining whether the meat from entire animals was consumed at the site from which the

archaeological sample was acquired. Still another problem is inconsistencies among various faunal analysts on average live weights for various species and what proportions of live weight constitute usable or edible meat weight for various taxa (cf. Cleland 1966; Theler 1987; White 1953). Despite the problems inherent in the various techniques used to estimate biomass and usable or edible meat, the interpretive value of such measures are the *relative* importance of the various taxa rather than the *absolute* quantities.

Field recovery techniques included screening all sediments through 6.4 mm (1/4 inch) mesh hardware cloth. Soil samples were also taken for water flotation, and these utilized both .072 inch and .030 inch mesh sizes for the recovery of heavy fraction materials. Bulk soil samples were also collected and analyzed. Animal remains recovered in these sediments generally consisted of very small fragments of bone, mussel and gastropod shells, and bird eggshells. These lots were weighed and carefully scanned in order to check for recovery biases against small-bodied animal taxa, but no attempt was made to count and identify these materials in the same detail as was the standard procedure for the macrofaunal remains captured by 6.4-mm screens.

Another objective of this analysis concerns the interpretation of animal exploitation in light of environmental characteristics for the vicinity of 12-Hu-1022. Despite eighteenth-century observations of vegetation patterns and animal life in the upper Wabash River valley, detailed descriptions of subsistence practices at the Miami villages near the forks of the Wabash are lacking. In addition to the archaeozoological data, attention is given to the broader environmental setting of 12-Hu-1022. An alternative method to site catchment analysis (Roper 1979; Tiffany and Abbott 1982; Vita-Finzi and Higgs 1970) is the formulation of a model that estimates the relative availability of various animal species in the manner demonstrated for the central Mississippi Valley (B. Smith 1979). For the upper Wabash Valley, biomass estimates are made on the basis of wildlife management studies and habitat analyses carried out in the area by ecological biologists. Following a similar study for the Fort Ouiatenon site (Martin 1986), the ordinal ranking of the various animal species identified from 12-Hu-1022 are compared to the ordinal ranking by biomass levels of species that occurred in the natural environment in order to assess the selective or nonselective nature of animal exploitation by the Miami inhabitants. This approach provides the opportunity to examine the degree of localization in resource procurement (Kay 1979:413; Styles 1985:23). Details of the various computations are provided by Martin (1986:347-439) and are based on previous models presented by Keene (1981), Reidhead (1981), and B. Smith (1979).

Environmental Setting and Historical Accounts of Subsistence

Site 12-Hu-1022 is located on a Pleistocene terrace above the Wabash River in Huntington County. The Little River, or Little Wabash River, joins the Wabash approximately 2.5 km upstream from the site to the east, and Clear Creek enters the main valley from the north less than .5 km east of the site. Huntington County is in the northern portion of the Tipton Till Plain, a physiographic zone that comprises approximately 31,080 km^2 of central Indiana. The till plain is "a depositional plain of low relief, underlain by thick glacial till and modified only slightly by postglacial stream erosion" (Schneider 1966:42). The Northern Moraine and Lake Region exists to the north of the till plain. The modern topography is nearly level except for strongly sloping terrain along the Wabash and Little Rivers and their tributaries (Lockridge and Jensen 1982:1).

Early descriptions indicate that except for the tall grass prairie in the northwestern part of Indiana, which constituted the eastern extension of the Prairie Peninsula (Transeau 1935), the Tipton Till Plain was heavily forested. As European settlers entered the region the vast forests were cleared to make way for farmland and pasture and to provide lumber for newly established towns. As a consequence, the modern vegetation is unlike that which was extant during the eighteenth century. Although oak-hickory stands are prevalent on south and west slopes and as "subfinal successional" vegetation on farm woodlots, the original climax forest on well-drained lands was predominantly beech-maple (Lindsey et al. 1965:162; Lindsey et al. 1969:57).

Figure 70 depicts the distribution of the various vegetation zones and bodies of water within a 3 km radius of 12-Hu-1022. Despite the importance of the Wabash River, more than 60% of the area

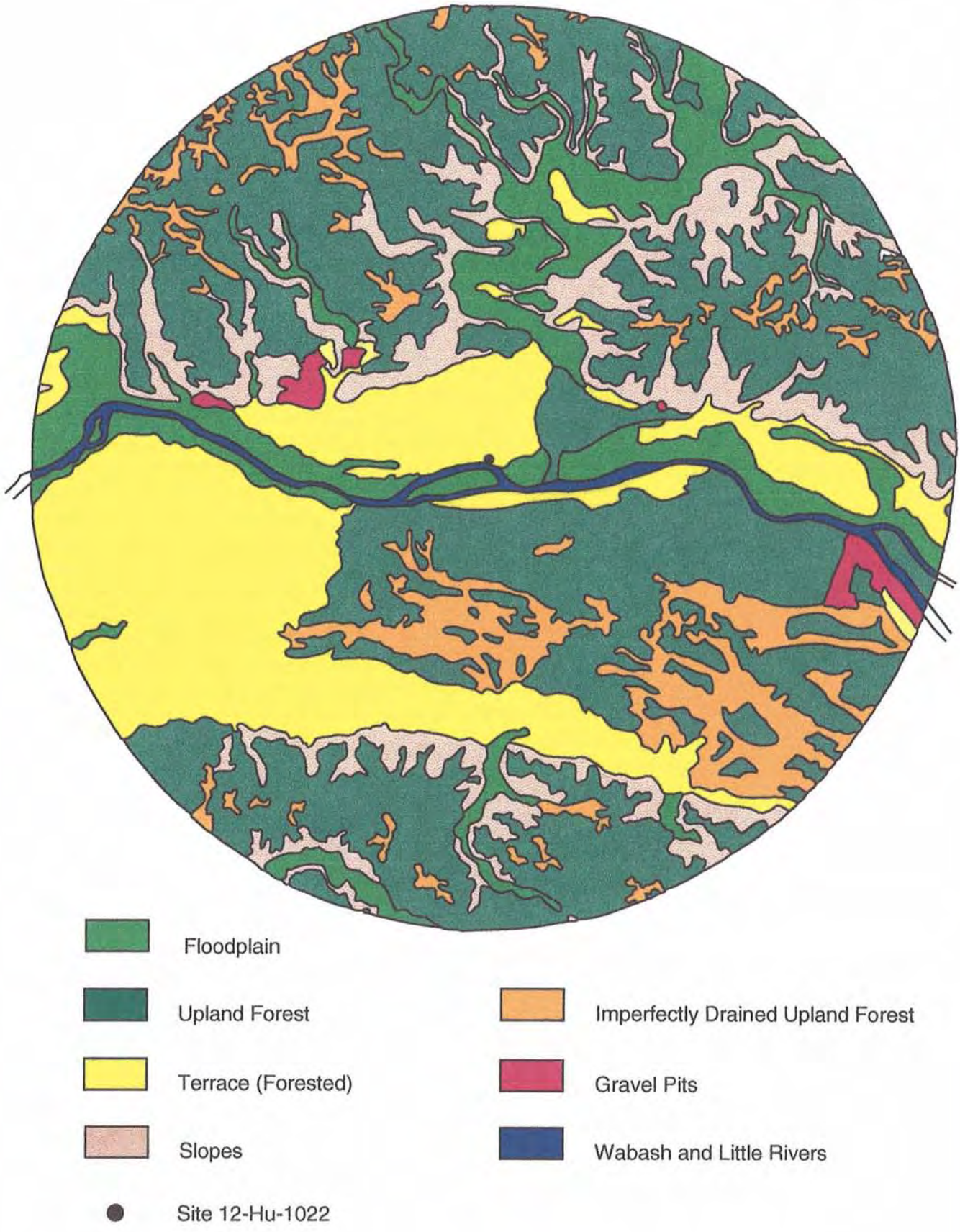

Figure 70. Resource Zones within a 3.0 km Radius of 12-Hu-1022.

consisted of upland forest, and forested terraces occupied another 20% (Table 8). Thus, terrestrial animals native to forest habitats should have been plentiful.

Table 8. Resource Zones within a 3.0 km radius of 12-Hu-1022.

Well-drained Upland Forest	16.00	56.5
Imperfectly-drained Upland Forest	1.53	5.4
Slopes	2.24	7.9
Forested Terraces	5.26	18.6
Floodplain	2.77	9.8
Wabash and Little Rivers	.50	1.7
Total Area	28.30	99.9

Historical accounts reviewed by Dunn (1919:72-80) and Kinietz (1965:173-174) include statements about food preferences of the Miami. Traditionally, the Miami engaged in communal bison hunts on the prairies during the late autumn, which usually involved whole villages. They also hunted elk, white-tailed deer, black bear, and beaver (Kinietz 1965:173-174). By 1797 the Miami were adopting European foods since in addition to corn they grew potatoes, cabbages, and turnips. Poultry, pigs, and cattle were being bred by the Miami who lived in the area of the headwaters of the Maumee and Wabash rivers (Dunn 1919:72). Among wild animals, raccoon, bobcat, and mountain lion were also prized for their meat. The Miami did not ordinarily eat wolves, foxes, minks, skunks, ground squirrels, weasels, rats, or mice, but they did eat woodchucks and porcupines. Except for loons, herons, pelicans, and woodpeckers, they ate most waterfowl and terrestrial birds, especially wild turkey, bobwhite, passenger pigeon, and curlew. Among the various turtles available, only the softshell and snapping turtle were eaten. Frogs, lizzards, snakes, freshwater mussels, and snails reportedly were not captured for food (Dunn1919:75-76).

Prior to their involvement in the European fur trade, the Miami apparently placed little reliance on fish (Kinietz 1965:175). However, by the early twentieth century, Miami accounts attest to the importance of fish to local subsistence practices (Rafert 1991:88-89). They used bows and arrows to catch fish in the spring and spears during the winter. During the warm weather months they employed large seines or nets to capture large numbers of fish. Catfish was a favored species because of the relatively small number of bones, but suckers were also commonly taken. The Miami also occasionally took walleye, sauger, black bass, and rock bass.

For the purpose of constructing a model of faunal resource use for the upper Wabash Valley in the vicinity of 12-Hu-1022, a circular site territory having a 3-km radius (i.e., 28.3 $km^{2)}$ was delineated (Figure 70). The distribution of the various resource zones within this artificially bounded area provides the basis for estimating the densities of various animal species that were available to the Miami inhabitants of 12-Hu-1022. In order to objectively evaluate the resource potential for an area, we must inquire into the quantitative and distributional characteristics of the local animal populations. Selecting original wildlife case studies on animal populations relatively undisturbed by modern man in locations both geographically and environmentally similar to archaeological sites they modeled, Keene (1981), Reidhead (1981), and Smith (1975) demonstrated how population densities and biomass estimates can be projected into the past. Considerations involved in estimating animal resource availability and human exploitation include seasonal events of the various species (e.g., mating and birth, variation in animal densities, and changes in food preference), population dynamics (e.g., sex ratio, reproductive rate, and mortality factors), and morphology (e.g., size of the animal and nonfood products). A series of calculations were performed in order to evaluate animal resources in the vicinity of 12-Hu-1022. Wildlife ecologists' studies provide estimates of animal densities and thus, size of *animal populations*. The *potential annual yield* refers to the number of individuals of a particular species that can be harvested by

humans without depleting the local population of that species. Estimates of *annual effective biomass* portray annual yield in terms of edible meat available to the human inhabitants of the area. These concepts and their calculations are discussed in greater detail elsewhere (Martin 1986:347-439).

Table 9 presents a ranking of 21 animal species or groups based on annual effective biomass. Some estimates are more speculative than others, especially those involving migratory animals such as waterfowl and passenger pigeon. Elk is problematic because original populations were extirpated from Indiana by 1830 (Mumford and Whitaker 1982:3), and the behavior and ecology of this species in the rich deciduous forest biome is poorly understood. Although present in the prairies of northwestern Indiana, bison was not included in this study because of the complete absence of prairie from Huntington County. Similarly, greater prairie-chicken and badger were also excluded from consideration. Several animals that were probably present near 12-Hu-1022 were not included in the resource model because quantifications would be tenuous, former statuses cannot be satisfactorily determined, or the species would have been extremely costly to exploit. These include several mammalian carnivores such as coyotes, gray wolf, red fox, gray fox, mountain lion, and bobcat. The porcupine was probably present, but Mumford (1969:84) found no evidence that indicates porcupines were ever abundant in Indiana. Birds of potential significance that were not included in the estimates include trumpeter swan, whooping crane, and sandhill crane (Mumford and Keller 1984).

Table 9. Animal resources projected for the site territory around 12-Hu-1022.

Species/Group	Estimated Population	Potential Annual Yield	Annual Effective Biomass (kg)	Median Biomass (kg)
Passenger Pigeon	75,560	15,112 - 18,890	3173.5 - 3966.9	3570.2
Fish (all spp.)	7910 - 9500 kg	3955 - 4750 kg	3164 - 3800	3482.0
White-tailed Deer	361 - 469	72 - 94	2709.6 - 3539.5	3124.6
Ducks (all spp.)	544,000 - 680,000	4080 - 5100	2600 - 3249	2924.5
Raccoon	429 - 483	429 - 483	1771.8 - 1994.8	1883.3
Geese (all spp.)	80,000 - 90,000	621 - 705	1285.5 - 1459.4	1372.5
Wild Turkey	175 - 218	205 - 255	676.5 - 841.5	759.0
Elk	22	4 - 5	589.6 - 737	663.3
Tree Squirrels	3434	859	558.4	558.4
Opossum	140 - 247	210 - 371	359.0 - 633.6	496.3
Eastern Box Turtle	13,733 - 20,600	2747 - 4120	343.4 - 515.0	429.2
Eastern Cottontail	2352 - 3276	588 - 819	352.8 - 491.4	422.1
Ruffed Grouse	433 - 649	646 - 966	258.4 - 386.4	322.4
Beaver	48 - 72	14 - 22	225.4 - 354.2	289.8
Black Bear	4 - 7	2 - 4	163.2 - 326.4	244.8
Pond Turtle spp.	1824 - 2432	365 - 486	164.3 - 218.7	191.5
Muskrat	272 - 316	163 - 190	136.9 - 226.2	181.6
Snapping Turtle	122 - 243	31 - 61	109.1 - 214.7	161.9
Bobwhite	572 - 858	815 - 1218	97 - 145	121.0
Spiny Softshell Turtle	122 - 243	31 - 61	55.8 - 109.8	82.8
River Otter	2 - 4	2 - 3	10.8 - 16.2	13.5

Potential fish populations are the most difficult animal resource to estimate, especially in rivers. The estimate presented in this study is based on figures given for the Illinois River by Rostlund (1952:56) and Adams (1926:537, as cited by Keene 1981:123). According to commercial fishery statistics for 1894 (Smith 1898) and 1899 (Townsend 1902), the most abundant game (or fine) fish, in decreasing order of

abundance, were walleye, black bass, sunfish, white bass, crappie, and rock bass. The most prevalent rough fish were catfish and bullheads, suckers (white sucker and redhorse), buffalo, freshwater drum, and shovelnose sturgeon. Thompson (1941:211) suggested that game fish made up 10% of the total fish biomass, whereas rough fish accounted for the remainder. Even late nineteenth-century analogues must be viewed with caution, however. Prior to the 1870s the Wabash River was described as having great water clarity (Gammon 1977), but forest-clearing and agricultural activities since the early nineteenth century were contributing to increases in soil erosion. Turbid water conditions favor rough fish, which locate food by touch and taste, over game fish, which feed by sight (Thompson 1941:214). Thus, game fish may have made up a greater proportion of the fish population during the eighteenth century.

Animal populations are rarely, if ever, exploited by humans in direct proportion to their biomass levels (Munson et al. 1971; Smith 1975). Animals that qualify as first-line animal foods for human exploitation are those that (1) are biologically capable of reproducing at rates that equal or exceed the rate of mortality due to natural predators and human hunters, (2) yield enough edible meat per individual to make their procurement efficient in terms of effort expended in capturing and processing, (3) can be captured or killed by techniques and technology known and possessed by the site inhabitants, and (4) occur in high densities over small areas (Smith 1975:137-138).

Inspection of Table 9 reveals that forest habitats are responsible for high biomass predictions for several species and groups. The largest mammals are elk, black bear, and white-tailed deer. Of these, deer are most abundant and predictable in that they occur in high seasonal densities over relatively small areas. Elk was probably an important supplemental species, but they wandered over large territories and were not predictable in regard to when and where they would aggregate into large herds. The black bear constitutes a large meat package, has a high concentration of fat, and has a desirable hide, but its low reproductive rate, high mobility, and disagreeable temperament makes it an unlikely candidate for a first-line human prey species. Raccoon and wild turkey are the only medium-sized animals with attributes of first-line prey species. Although having high reproductive rates, opossums are nocturnal, solitary, and erratic in their foraging behavior; therefore, they were probably never as important as raccoon. Small animals native to forest habitats include eastern box turtle, eastern cottontail, gray and fox squirrels, and ruffed grouse. Probably all of these were exploited as supplementary animal foods. Although passenger pigeon is ranked highest in terms of annual effective biomass for the site territory, predicting the availability of the colonial birds is difficult because unknown factors influenced the birds' selection of roosting and nesting locations so that migrations may not have always been predictable (Schorger 1955). As a consequence, biomass available for humans may have been virtually unlimited, but there may have been a number of years when passenger pigeons did not frequent the vicinity of 12-Hu-1022.

The aquatic habitats offered the second highest total biomass, due to fish and waterfowl (i.e., ducks, geese, and swans), which are seasonally abundant and highly predictable. Because they can be harvested annually in almost unlimited numbers, fish and waterfowl represent obvious first-line resources. Other significant animals are beaver and muskrat, except that beaver, like river otter, are subject to rapid depletion in an area if heavily exploited. Species of aquatic turtle (pond turtles, snapping turtle, and spiny softshell turtle) are labor intensive to capture and process, hence, they were probably taken opportunistically. Although the floodplain habitat of Clear Creek was included in the 12-Hu-1022 resource zone model, the creek itself was not included in estimates for animal species. If this shallow stream was a more significant wildlife habitat in the past, estimates in Table 9 for fish, beaver, muskrat, and river otter may be too conservative. This is unlikely, however, since it does not seem to support fish larger than minnows, even though it does flow year round. The location of Clear Creek's confluence with the Wabash does not appear to have influenced the location of Indian settlement below the forks of the Wabash. Despite this confluence, the Indian midden along the Wabash is virtually continuous for a distance of approximately 6 or 7 km.

Table 10. Species Composition of Animal Remains from Site 12-Hu-1022, (NISP, number of identified specimens; MNI, minimum number of individuals).

MAMMALS				
Eastern Chipmunk, *Tamias stritatus*	1	1	.2	.006
Woodchuck, *Marmota monax*	2	1	2.6	.062
Tree Squirrel, *Sciurus* sp.	3	1	.4	.012
Beaver, *Castor canadensis*	15	2	17.6	.348
Gray Fox, *Urocyon cinereoargenteus*	1	1	2.2	.053
Black Bear, *Ursus americanus*	7	1	62.1	1.137
Raccoon, *Procyon lotor*	49	4	77.3	1.338
Swine, *Sus scrofa*	14	2	101.8	1.770
White-tailed Deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*	211	8	2214.6	28.429
Cattle, *Bos taurus*	8	1	411.9	5.934
Bison/Cattle, *Bison/Bos*	4	--	47.9	.856
Unidentified Large Mammal	1838	--	1243.2	17.090
Unidentified Medium Mammal	150	--	44.6	.831
Unidentified Small Mammal	2	--	.3	.009
BIRDS				
Goose sp., Anserini	1	1	.7	.015
Wild Turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*	37	5	73.5	1.063
Galliformes	1	--	.4	.009
Passenger Pigeon, *Ectopistes migratorius*	4	2	.6	.013
Unidentified Large Bird	175	--	83.1	1.140
Unidentified Medium Bird	2	1	.3	.007
REPTILES				
Snapping Turtle, *Chelydra serpentina*	4	1	4.2	.083
Common Map Turtle, *Graptemys geographica*	25	4	95.1	.669
Semiaquatic Pond Turtle spp., Emydidae	51	--	18.7	.225
Eastern Spiny Softshell Turtle, *Apalone spinifer*	59	5	239.4	1.242
Softshell Turtle sp., *Apalone* sp.	3	1	2.5	.058
Unidentified Turtle	90	--	26.0	.287
FISH				
Redhorse sp., *Moxostoma* sp.	21	4	5.9	.124
Black Bass, *Micropterus* sp.	1	1	.3	.010
Walleye, *Stizostedion vitreum*	1	1	.1	.001
Freshwater Drum, *Aplodinotus grunniens*	1	1	.7	.030
Unidentified Fish	118	--	11.9	.223
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATE	21	--	8.9	--
BIVALVES (PELECYPODS)				
Threeridge, *Amblema plicata*	3	3	76.5	--
Purple Wartyback, *Cyclonaias tuberculata*	3	2	196.0	--
Spike, *Elliptio dilatata*	1	1	3.0	--
Mucket, *Actinonaias ligamentina*	1	1	5.4	--
Pink Heelsplitter, *Potamilus alatus*	1	1	4.7	--
Unidentified Mussel	138	1	107.4	--
GRAND TOTALS	3067	54	5192.0	63.074
Totals, Identified	533	52	3666.3	43.487
% Identified	17.4		70.6	68.9

Results

A total of 3067 animal remains were recovered by 6.4-mm screens at 12-Hu-1022 (Table 10). Specimens from Feature 6, which is tentatively identified as the area of an aboriginal log house and associated sheet midden, make up 22.7% of the total assemblage (Table 11). Included within the total for Feature 6 are 70 mammal remains that were associated with a large hearth. The only identified specimens from this hearth are four white-tailed deer elements (two molars, a rib fragment, and a distal humerus) and an upper canine tooth from a raccoon. The collection obtained from Feature 10, a large, circular refuse pit discovered below Feature 6, represents 77% of the total assemblage and accounts for most of the species diversity (Table 12). The balance of the assemblage consists of only a few additional specimens. Feature 9, which is probably a midden associated with a second domestic structure on the western side of the site, contributed a distal white-tailed deer scapula and a calcined, unidentified large mammal bone fragment. Feature 2 yielded one raccoon mandible. Five unidentified large mammal bone fragments were recovered from surface (catalogue number 1) and plowzone (catalogue number 118) contexts.

Table 11. Species composition of animal remains from Feature 6 at Site 12-Hu-1022, (NISP, number of identified specimens; MNI, minimum number of individuals).

MAMMALS				
Eastern Chipmunk, *Tamias striatus*	1	1	.2	.006
Beaver, *Castor canadensis*	15	2	17.6	.348
Black Bear, *Ursus americanus*	3	1	50.0	.889
Raccoon, *Procyon lotor*	1	1	.4	.012
Swine, *Sus scrofa*	5	2	17.6	.348
White-tailed Deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*	69	4	365.6	5.330
Bison/Cattle, *Bison/Bos*	4	1	47.9	.856
Unidentified Large Mammal	515	--	431.7	6.190
Unidentified Medium Mammal	9	--	4.5	.102
Unidentified Small Mammal	2	--	.3	.009
BIRDS				
Wild Turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*	2	2	12.2	.199
Unidentified Medium Bird	2	1	.3	.007
REPTILES				
Softshell Turtle sp., *Apalone* sp.	3	1	2.5	.058
Unidentified Turtle	1	--	.1	.007
FISH				
Freshwater Drum, *Aplodinotus grunniens*	1	1	.7	.030
Unidentified Fish	1	--	.1	.005
BIVALVES (PELECYPODS)				
Spike, *Elliptio dilatata*	1	1	3.0	--
Unidentified Mussel	62	--	20.5	--
GRAND TOTALS	697	18	975.2	14.396
Totals, Identified	105	17	517.7	8.076
% Identified	15.1		53.1	56.1

Mammals

Just over 75% of all animal remains by count and 81.4% by specimen weight are from mammals. In terms of identified specimens, these account for 59.1% of the collection. At least 22 of the individual

Table 12. Species composition of animal remains from Feature 10 at Site 12-Hu-1022, (NISP, number of identified specimens; MNI, minimum number of individuals).

MAMMALS				
Woodchuck, *Marmota monax*	2	1	2.6	.062
Tree Squirrel, *Sciurus* sp.	3	1	.4	.012
Gray Fox, *Urocyon cinereoargenteus*	1	1	2.2	.053
Black Bear, *Ursus americanus*	4	1	12.1	.248
Raccoon, *Procyon lotor*	47	4	75.3	1.286
Swine, *Sus scrofa*	9	1	84.2	1.422
White-tailed Deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*	141	5	1838.1	22.800
Cattle, *Bos taurus*	8	1	411.9	5.934
Unidentified Large Mammal	1317	--	802.2	10.811
Unidentified Medium Mammal	141	--	40.1	.729
BIRDS				
Goose sp., Anserini	1	1	.7	.015
Wild Turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*	35	4	61.3	.864
Galliformes	1	--	.4	.009
Passenger Pigeon, *Ectopistes migratorius*	4	2	.6	.013
Unidentified Large Bird	175	--	83.1	1.140
REPTILES				
Snapping Turtle, *Chelydra serpentina*	4	1	4.2	.083
Common Map Turtle, *Graptemys geographica*	25	4	95.1	.669
Semiaquatic Pond Turtle spp., Emydidae	51	--	18.7	.225
Eastern Spiny Softshell Turtle, *Apalone spinifer*	59	5	239.4	1.242
Unidentified Turtle	89	--	25.9	.280
FISH				
Redhorse sp., *Moxostoma* sp.	21	4	5.9	.124
Black Bass, *Micropterus* sp.	1	1	.3	.010
Walleye, *Stizostedion vitreum*	1	1	.1	.001
Unidentified Fish	117	--	11.8	.218
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATE	21	--	8.9	--
BIVALVES (PELECYPODS)				
Threeridge, *Amblema plicata*	3	3	76.5	--
Purple Wartyback, *Cyclonaias tuberculata*	3	2	196.0	--
Mucket, *Actinonaias ligamentina*	1	1	5.4	--
Pink Heelsplitter, *Potamilus alatus*	1	1	4.7	--
Unidentified Mussel	76	1	86.9	--
GRAND TOTALS	2362	46	4195.0	48.250
Totals, Identified	426	45	3136.1	35.072
% Identified	18.0		74.8	72.7

animals are from this class, which constitutes 40.7% of all individuals from the site and 48.9% of the vertebrate MNI.

White-tailed deer is the most conspicuous species with 67% of the identified mammal remains by count contributing 75% of the class by weight. The minimum of eight individual deer, however, represents only 36.4% of the individual mammals. An MNI of five from Feature 10 was estimated on the basis of five left distal tibiae, and at least four individuals are represented in Feature 6 by four right distal tibiae. Assuming that the collections from these two features are not mutually exclusive, an MNI of seven for the site at large is indicated by right distal tibiae with closed epiphyses (four from Feature 6 plus three from Feature 10). An eighth individual is represented by a mandible indicative of an animal approximately 12 months old that was present in Feature 6. A distal tibia from this eighth individual would have an open epiphysis (Purdue 1983:1210). Mandibles from three individuals in Feature 10 indicate an age of 24 to 30 months, whereas a fourth mandible from the same feature is from an individual that was 30 to 36 months of age at time of death. A distal scapula was associated with Feature 9, and a proximal metacarpal was found in fill above Feature 6 (catalogue number 63). Overall, bones from the lower legs and feet were more numerous than any other single skeletal portion (Table 13).

Bones and teeth from large bovids were carefully examined in order to discern if they represent cattle or bison. All of the specimens from Feature 10 are comparable to cattle, and these include a fragment of an axis vertebra, a cervical vertebra, two femur shafts, an entire carpal bone (triquetral), a metacarpal shaft, a whole calcaneus, and a proximal metatarsal. The specimens from Feature 6 (three molariform teeth and a fragment of a third phalanx) are too incomplete to discriminate between cattle and bison. No specimens were recovered that are diagnostic of bison. Consistent with the presence of cattle bones are over a dozen swine bones from at least two individuals. These were found both in features 6 and 10. At least two individuals are indicated by elements from immature and mature animals.

The remaining mammals are wild species. The second most abundant mammalian species is raccoon with 47 specimens from Feature 10, a mandible from Feature 2, and an upper canine tooth from Feature 6. When all raccoon specimens are considered together, an MNI of four was determined from the presence of four left upper second molars. A minimum of one individual black bear is represented by specimens that were recovered in features 6 and 10. Elements from Feature 6 consist of a lower canine from a small or medium-sized individual along with a proximal ulna and a calcaneus. All of the bear bones from Feature 10 are from the feet and include a whole third metacarpal, a distal metapodial, and whole first and third phalanges. Beaver elements were confined to Feature 6 and consist of the anterior portion of a mandible, one incisor fragment, and 13 whole and fragmentary molariform teeth from at least two individuals. One gray fox bone was encountered, and it consisted of an auditory bulla from the cranium (temporal) that was identified from Feature 10. Rodents of the squirrel family include an eastern chipmunk that was represented by a mandible in Feature 6; a lower incisor, proximal radius, and distal tibia from either a gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*) or small fox squirrel (*S. niger*) associated with Feature 10; and a clavicle and scapula from a woodchuck in Feature 10.

Birds

Bird bones are relatively rare in the faunal assemblage. All bird bones account for 7.2% of all animal remains, 7.5% of all vertebrate remains, and the 43 identified bones represent 8.1% of all identified remains from the site (Table 10). The minimum of nine individual birds constitute 16.7% of the total MNI count. Only four bird bones were associated with Feature 6, the rest of which were recovered from Feature 10. Consistent with the resource zone model and the expectation of the importance of forest species, wild turkey and passenger pigeon are the most abundant birds in the archaeological collection. A minimum of five individual turkeys were estimated on the basis of right tibiotarsi, three from Feature 10 and two from Feature 6. All four passenger pigeon bones were found in Feature 10 and consist of two right distal tibiotarsi, one right proximal femur, and one left proximal radius. Surprising is the virtual absence of bones from waterfowl. Except for a distal ulna from an unidentified goose in Feature 10, no other birds were identified from the materials recovered from 6.4-mm

Table 13. Composition of large mammal remains by skeletal portions (NISP).

	Cranium	Teeth	Ft. Front	Vertebrae	Ribs	Innom. Bone	Ft. Hind	Feet	Totals
White-tailed Deer									
Feature 9	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Feature 6	3	29	8	2	1	0	8	17	68
Feature 10	12	16	23	3	10	3	23	51	141
Totals	15	45	32	5	11	3	31	68	210
Percent	7.1	21.4	15.2	2.4	5.2	1.4	14.8	32.4	99.9
Swine									
Feature 6	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	5
Feature 10	0	4	1	1	0	1	1	1	9
Totals	0	7	2	1	0	2	1	1	14
Percent	0	50.0	14.3	7.1	0	14.3	7.1	7.1	99.9
Cattle, Bison/Cattle									
Feature 6	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Feature 10	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	4	8
Totals	0	3	0	2	0	0	2	5	12
Black Bear									
Feature 6	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
Feature 10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Totals	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	7

Table 13. Composition of large mammal remains by skeletal portions (NISP).

screen. A coracoid from a medium-sized woodpecker was present in a bulk soil sample (catalogue number 293) from Feature 6. Bird bones from the Fort Ouiatenon site indicate that wild turkey was a favored prey in the central portion of the Wabash Valley, followed in order by waterfowl (geese, ducks, and swans). Passenger pigeon was also common with over 450 bones identified.

Reptiles

Second to mammals in abundance, turtle elements constitute 7.6% of all animal remains, and the minimum of 11 individuals represent 24.4% of all vertebrate MNI. Over 98% of all turtle bones were associated with Feature 10. Spiny softshell turtle is the most common single species with five individuals being represented by right hyoplastrons and hypoplastrons. In addition to carapace and plastron elements, cranial, limb, and pelvic bones were also recovered. No smooth softshell turtle (*Apalone muticus*) bones were identified from the site, but this species tends to occur primarily in the lower Wabash River (Minton 1972:194). A nearly whole spiny softshell carapace from Feature 10 was reconstructed. This individual is noteworthy in that it has one oval hole, approximately 20 mm in diameter, in the left third and fourth pleurals, and one oval hole, 10.6-10.8 mm in diameter, in the right fourth and fifth pleurals (Figure 71). These holes appear to have resulted from a force to the external surface of the carapace, since the internal surfaces are spalled. Perhaps these holes were produced by a spear or leister. In addition, three softshell turtle bones (ischium, right hypoplastron, and first phalanx) from a minimum of one individual were found in Feature 6.

A minimum of four individual common map turtles were obtained from Feature 10. The number of individuals is indicated by the presence of three dentaries from large common map turtles and several bones from at least one small individual. In contrast to softshell turtles, which prefer little or no submerged vegetation, common map turtles usually occur in rivers having aquatic vegetation.

Snapping turtle was identified from a scapula, radius, tibia, and a neural bone from the carapace, all associated with Feature 10.

Fish

Fish are under represented in the faunal assemblage. Only 4.6% of all animal remains, 4.8% of all vertebrate remains, and 4.5% of all identified specimens consist of fish (Table 10). Inspection of flotation and bulk soil samples suggests that recovery bias is not responsible. Nearly 99% of all fish remains were recovered from Feature 10. Only 17% of all fish elements were identified, and these disclosed four taxa, three of which are represented by only one element each. The estimated sizes of the identified fish are summarized in Table 14.

Table 14. Estimated sizes of fish (numbers refer to MNI per size class).

Taxon										
Redhorse spp.	--	--	--	2	1	--	1	--	--	4
Black Bass	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
Walleye	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
Freshwater Drum	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Totals	--	--	--	3	3	--	1	--	--	7

Bones from redhorse suckers are most numerous. Two individuals in the 24 to 32 cm size class are indicated by the presence of two right supracleithra; one individual between 32 and 40 cm long was identified from 5 vertebrae, a maxilla, and a metapterygoid; and a redhorse between 48 and 56 cm long is

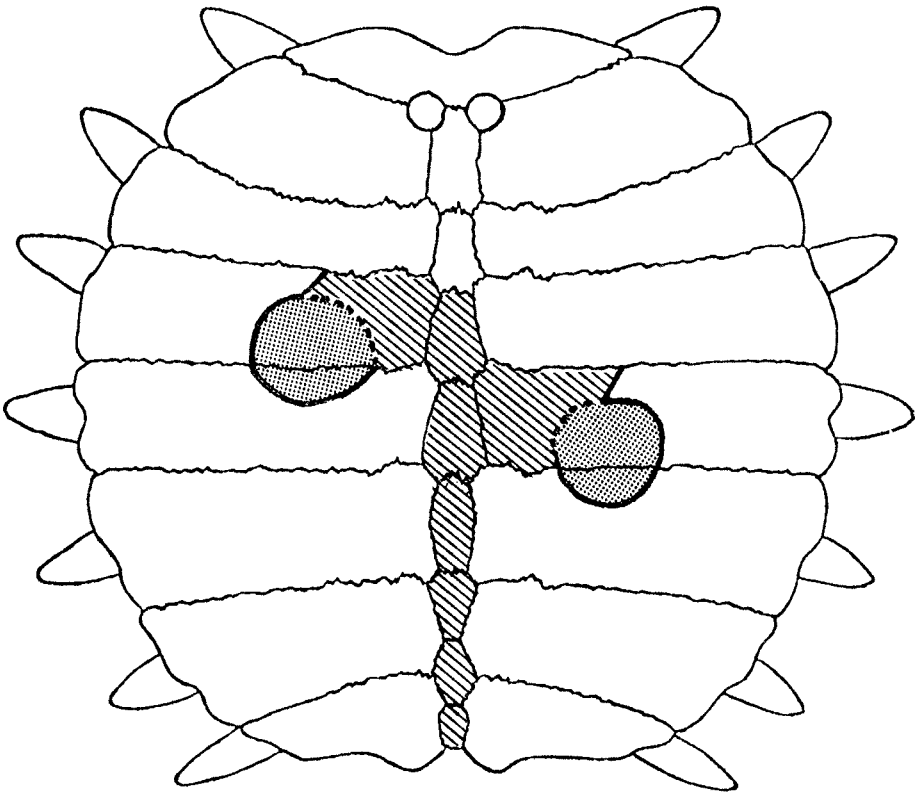

Figure 71. Reconstructed Soft-shell Turtle Carapace from Feature 10 with Missing Portions Depicted by Crosshatching and Stippling.

represented by six bones. All of these were associated with Feature 10. Although as many as six species formerly occurred in the Midwest (P. Smith 1979:157), most are difficult to distinguish on the basis of skeletal remains. All of the redhorse share a habitat affinity for substrates of sand or gravel, and they generally have a low tolerance of turbidity, resulting in their disappearance from many streams and rivers that carry silt runoff from agriculture. The shorthead redhorse (*Moxostoma macrolepidotum*), however, is more tolerant of turbidity than most other species of redhorse (Tomelleri and Eberle 1990:107-109). At Fort Ouiatenon, redhorse were second in overall abundance of fish only to catfish (Martin 1986:187).

The remaining three species are represented by only one element for each. A maxilla fragment from either a largemouth or a smallmouth bass between 32 and 40 cm in standard length was recovered from Feature 10. An epihyal from a walleye in the same size class was also found in Feature 10. An otolith from a freshwater drum was obtained from Feature 6, and this individual would have measured between 24 and 32 cm in length. These species are common in the Wabash River, but in contrast to redhorse, drum is a bottom-dwelling fish that thrives in turbid water and is widespread in rivers, lakes, and reservoirs where they feed on insects, crayfish, minnows, and occasionally mollusks (Tomelleri and Eberle 1990:207).

Freshwater Mussels

A total of 147 freshwater mussel shells were encountered in the 12-Hu-1022 faunal assemblage, of which only nine specimens were identified. Over 57% of these shells were recovered from Feature 10. The four identified species are still present in Indiana, and all occur minimally on gravel substrate in medium to large rivers (Cummings and Mayer 1992). None of the shells appear to have been modified into spoons. The purple wartyback includes one individual represented by both left and right shells. The former abundance of mussels in the Wabash River is indicated by a report that over 2,300 tons of shells were harvested by commercial collectors in 1931 (Fielder 1933:409).

Small-Scale Recovery Samples

A total of 34 flotation samples from 446 liters of soil, together with 16 bulk soil samples, yielded additional animal remains (Table 15). Most of the 194 g of material consisted of very small unidentifiable bone, mussel shell, and bird eggshell fragments, but several identifiable specimens were observed.

Table 15. Animal remains recovered by small-scale recovery techniques.

Feature No.	No. of Samples	Vol. (liters)	Wt. (g) of Animal Remains	
			.702" mesh	.030" mesh
FLOTATION SAMPLES				
2	1	15.0	--	.1
3	1	10.0	.1	--
4	1	16.0	.1	--
6	22	297.5	33.7	1.3
6A	2	18.0	.7	.2
6B	1	15.0	.6	.1
6C	2	22.5	73.6	.7
7	1	10.0	1.9	.1
9	2	27.0	.5	.1
10	1	15.0	52.3	2.5
Totals	34	446.0	163.5	5.1

Table 15. Animal Remains Recovered by Small-Scale Recovery Techniques cont.				
BULK SOIL SAMPLES				
6	12			21.8
6A	1			.1
9	1			.2
10	2			3.3
Totals	16			25.4

Flotation samples from Feature 6 contain four deer specimens including a molar fragment from Area B and a rib from Area C. Fragments of a deer molar and an innominate bone were found in general midden samples, as was a lower third molar from a raccoon. Inspection of bulk soil samples from Feature 6 revealed a pig molar fragment, a woodpecker coracoid, and a fish rib or spine.

Included in Feature 10 flotation samples are three deer phalanges, two raccoon teeth (left lower fourth premolar and right lower first molar), a squirrel maxilla, a wild turkey ulna shaft fragment with knife cut marks, the left maxilla from a snapping turtle, a turtle phalanx, fragments of seven fish vertebrae, and the pseudocardinal hinge of an unidentified freshwater mussel. Fish scales and bird eggshell fragments were also observed in several samples. Bulk soil samples included a squirrel molar, a fragment of a turtle carapace or plastron, and a fish spine.

Modified Animal Remains

Although none of the animal remains from 12-Hu-1022 can be described as tools or artifacts, three burned unidentified large mammal bone fragments (total weight of 3.4 g) from Feature 10 exhibit a surface luster that suggests they were intentionally polished.

Cut marks produced by knives and hatchets were observed on numerous specimens, all of which were recovered from Feature 10. Chop marks are exhibited on a cattle axis vertebra and an unidentified large mammal shaft fragment. Knife cuts are present on the following deer bones: distal scapula, radius (mid-lateral shaft), dorsal portion of first rib, proximal tibia (posterior and lateral shaft), medial mid-tibia shaft, distal tibia, metacarpal mid-shaft, and a proximal metatarsal. The dorsal portion of a rib from an unidentified large mammal also has a knife cut mark.

A total of 913 specimens were either charred or calcined as a result of exposure to fire. Burned bones do not necessarily indicate cooking, but instead may reflect intentional or accidental disposal in a fire. Burned animal remains constitute 31.2% of the Feature 10 collection and 25.2% of the material from Feature 6 (including 21 of the 65 unidentified large mammal remains that were associated with the large hearth). Burning was limited to mammal bones in Feature 6, but was observed on specimens from all animal classes in Feature 10: 39.6% of the mammal remains, 25% of the turtle bones, 6% of the mussel shells, 5.7% of the fish bones, and 2.5% of the bird bones.

Less than 2% of the vertebrate remains were damaged by other animals, and just over 90% of the chewed or gnawed bones were associated with Feature 10. Bones with carnivore damage consist of 30 white-tailed deer bones (two humerus shafts, one distal humerus, two proximal ulnae, two proximal metacarpals, one distal metacarpal, four ribs, two proximal tibiae, three distal tibiae, four calcanei, one proximal metatarsal, two distal metatarsals, two first phalanges, and four second phalanges), three cattle bones (cervical vertebra, femur shaft, and carpal), three swine bones (scapula, innominate bone, and calcaneus), two black bear bones (distal metapodial and third phalanx), two raccoon bones (distal humeri), and six unidentified large mammal bones. Rodent-gnawing was observed on a deer calcaneus, a first phalanx, a vestigial third phalanx, and on a raccoon ulna.

Discussion

In this section the faunal assemblage from 12-Hu-1022 is considered from the perspective of the information it provides about the Miami inhabitants of the site and how the site may have functioned within the broader geographical and temporal contexts of the upper Wabash Valley during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Following a brief discussion of the distribution of animal remains at the site, the archaeological data will be compared to the resource model that predicted annual effective biomass levels for wild animals in the area. Finally, preliminary findings are presented for a collection of animal remains that were recovered at 12-Hu-935, a nearby Miami site.

Intra-Site Comparisons

Inspection of tables 4 and 5 reveals that the refuse pit beneath the midden that was associated with the log house in the eastern portion of 12-Hu-1022 furnished a significantly larger and more diverse collection of animal remains than did the midden. Although the same human inhabitants probably were responsible for materials recovered from both contexts, there are some interesting differences in the two faunal collections. Only Feature 6 provided remains of beaver, chipmunk, freshwater drum, and one species of freshwater mussel. Feature 10, on the other hand, contained the only identified specimens of woodchuck, tree squirrel, gray fox, goose, passenger pigeon, snapping turtle, common map turtle, redhorse, black bass, walleye, and four species of mussels. Furthermore, only the large bovid bones from Feature 10 could be identified as cattle, whereas the specimens from Feature 6 could not be identified more precisely than either bison or cattle. White-tailed deer, black bear, swine, raccoon, wild turkey, and softshell turtle are represented in both features and constitute the most important animals at the site.

Attention to large mammal skeletal portions shows some additional differences between features 6 and 10 (Table 13). Whereas 42% of the white-tailed deer specimens from Feature 6 are isolated teeth, followed in order by bones from the lower legs and feet, Feature 10 is dominated by bones from the lower legs and feet (36.2%). Deer bones from the upper front and the upper hind legs comprise 16.3% each in Feature 10 and 11.6% each in Feature 6. Large bovid (i.e., bison/cattle and cattle) remains also exhibit some interesting differences between the two features in that all three isolated teeth and one foot bone were found in the midden, whereas vertebrae, proximal hindquarter, and lower leg and foot bones were recovered from the refuse pit. Black bear bones in Feature 10 are restricted to foot bones, whereas Feature 6 includes one tooth, a proximal ulna, and a calcaneus. Although 50% of the swine specimens are isolated teeth, any discard pattern is masked by the small number and diversity of other swine bones.

Comparison to Resource Model

Consideration of the faunal assemblage from 12-Hu-1022 in light of the animal resource model that was constructed for the area within 3 km of the site provides insights into availability of certain animal resources along with factors that may have affected human selection of these naturally occurring animals. Other than erroneous assessments, discrepancies may reflect changes in local animal populations due to hunting and trapping pressures, destruction of habitats that were favorable to certain species, introduction of domestic animals, or introduction of economic factors that may have altered Native American hunting patterns. Economic (primarily dietary) contributions of local animal populations can be assessed from archaeological samples by quantification techniques that are derived (1) from calculations of minimum numbers of individuals per animal taxon, which assumes that edible meat from whole animals was consumed, and (2) from use of allometric formulae that calculate quantities of meat directly from weight of bones per taxon, which bypasses possible errors that originate with MNI estimates. Proportions of edible meat and biomass are presented in Table 16. The edible meat weights are derived from figures presented in a previous analysis of animal remains from the Fort Ouiatenon site (Martin 1986). Because of the many potential sources of bias in all of these calculations, emphasis is placed on *ordinal* rankings and not on the proportions themselves.

The presence of domesticated animal species among the faunal remains from 12-Hu-1022 were anticipated on the basis of historical accounts, but these were not included in the animal resource model

Table 16. Comparison of biomass to edible meat weights based on minimum numbers of individuals for the various taxa identified at 12Hu1022.

Taxon	Biomass	%	MNI	Edible Weight	Edible Weight	%
MAMMALS						
Eastern Chipmunk	.006	<.1	1	.24	.24	<.1
Woodchuck	.062	.1	1	2.45	2.45	.3
Tree Squirrel	.012	<.1	1	.36	.36	<.1
Beaver	.348	.8	2	16.10	32.20	4.3
Gray Fox	.053	.1	1	2.16	2.16	.3
Black Bear	1.137	2.6	1	81.60	81.60	10.9
Raccoon	1.338	3.1	4	4.13	16.52	2.2
Swine	1.770	4.1	2	55.58	111.16	14.9
White-tailed Deer	28.429	65.4	8	38.19	305.52	41.0
Cattle	5.934	13.6	1	158.75	158.75	21.3
Bison/Cattle	.856	2.0	--	--	--	--
BIRDS						
Goose sp.	.015	<.1	1	1.82	1.82	.2
Wild Turkey	1.063	2.4	5	3.29	16.45	2.2
Galliformes	.009	<.1	--	--	--	--
Passenger Pigeon	.013	<.1	2	.21	.42	.1
REPTILES						
Snapping Turtle	.083	.2	1	3.52	3.52	.5
Common Map Turtle	.669	1.5	4	.27	1.08	.1
Emydidae	.225	.5	--	--	--	--
Spiny Softshell Turtle	1.242	2.9	5	1.24	6.20	.8
Softshell Turtle sp.	.058	.1	1	1.24	1.24	.2
FISH						
Redhorse sp.	.124	.3	4	.27-1.40	2.46	.3
Black Bass	.010	<.1	1	.55	.55	.1
Walleye	.001	<.1	1	.28	.28	<.1
Freshwater Drum	.030	.1	1	.33	.33	<.1
GRAND TOTALS	43.487	99.8	52		745.31	99.7

for the forks of the Wabash vicinity. Although bones and teeth from swine and cattle are not abundant in proportion to all of the identified animal remains from the site, these species ranked second and third behind white-tailed deer in terms of biomass and edible meat contributions. The dominance of white-tailed deer probably reflects the species' large body size along with the importance of deer hides to the Euroamerican fur trade south of the Great Lakes region. The fur trade may also account in part for greater than predicted importance of black bear and beaver. Black bear hides were sold on the open fur market during the early eighteenth century and as late as 1804-1811, 448 bear hides were shipped from Fort Wayne (Griswold 1927, as cited by Mumford 1969:89). Bear was also prized for its fat by the French (Ekberg 1985:302), and its meat and fat were consumed by the Indians as well (Mason 1988:128; Parmalee and Klippel 1983:277). Aquatic turtles are also more abundant than expected, especially common map and spiny softshell turtles. This finding is consistent, however, with other historic Indian sites in Illinois (Martin 1996; Parmalee 1964; Parmalee and Klippel 1983:264-266). Raccoon and wild turkey are represented at 12-Hu-1022 in quantities that are consistent with expectations.

Several species are underrepresented or absent altogether from 12-Hu-1022. Passenger pigeon, fish, and waterfowl were present, but in quantities that are much lower than their populations near the forks of the Wabash would seem to indicate. Elk, muskrat, opossum, eastern cottontail, eastern box turtle, ruffed grouse, bobwhite, and river otter are absent altogether from the archaeological faunal assemblage. Although ten elk bones from at least two individuals were identified among animal bones from Fort Ouiatenon (Martin 1986:139), their absence in northeastern Indiana may reflect the species' extirpation from the region by 1830 (Hoffmeister 1989:30; Mumford and Whitaker 1982:3). This may also account for the lack of bison, except that natural habitat conditions were probably not as favorable for the large bovid as they were farther west in the vicinity of Fort Ouiatenon. Likewise, the low population density of river otters made the mustelids susceptible to over trapping in many local situations. Seasonality of site occupation and animal exploitation patterns may be responsible for some of these discrepancies, especially in the case of fish and waterfowl. Unfortunately, the only seasonality indicator among the animal remains from 12-Hu-1022 is a mandible from a yearling white-tailed deer, which would suggest an early summer occupation. No deer frontal bones with attached or shed antlers were obtained. The presence of aquatic turtles would seem to imply a warm weather time of procurement, a time when fish would also be available. Although redhorse are present, concerted fishing during their spring spawning period would result in much greater quantities of the fish, as well as other spring spawners such as walleye. Similarly, perhaps passenger pigeons were usually hunted or trapped in great quantities only during the nesting season in late spring and early summer farther north in Wisconsin and Michigan. Despite the impression given by Schorger (1955:133*ff.*), passenger pigeon bones are rarely numerous at prehistoric or historic Native American sites in the Midwest (Parmalee and Klippel 1983:270). Their relative abundance at Fort Ouiatenon may reflect a French food preference. Despite the presence of cattle and swine, chicken bones were not encountered. The complete absence of muskrat at 12-Hu-1022 is also difficult to explain, except that the finding is consistent with low numbers at Fort Ouiatenon (Martin 1986:147) and in fur traders' records for Fort Wayne during the early 1800s (Mumford and Whitaker 1982:372). Muskrat remains were also rare at the historic Crawford Farm site of the Sauk and Fox (Parmalee 1964) and the Rhoads site that was occupied by the Kickapoo (Parmalee and Klippel 1983:284). In contrast, the early nineteenth century Windrose site along the Kankakee River in northern Illinois indicates that muskrats were favored prey by the Potawatomi or *metis* inhabitants (Martin 1996).

Inter-Site Comparisons

Reference has already been made to the faunal assemblage from Fort Ouiatenon, as well as to those from the Crawford Farm, Rhoads, and Windrose sites. Closer to 12-Hu-1022 there are no other contemporaneous Miami habitation sites that permit detailed comparisons. One site that has recently been investigated is 12-Hu-935, another Miami site located approximately 1.6 km to the east of 12-Hu-1022 on the north side of the Wabash River. The faunal assemblage from this site awaits detailed analysis, but the senior author made a cursory inspection of the collection of animal bones, which is comparable in volume to that reported for 12-Hu-1022.

The vast majority of animal remains from 12-Hu-935 were associated with Feature 10. In decreasing order, the animals that were observed include white-tailed deer, swine, raccoon, black bear, freshwater mussel shell, beaver, eastern cottontail, turtle, wild turkey, horse, and snake. This second collection seems similar to 12-Hu-1022 in the prevalence of deer bones and teeth along with the presence of raccoon, black bear, and mussel shells. No cattle remains were noted, but a horse molar was identified (catalgue number 582). Fish and waterfowl appear to be absent from 12-Hu-935 altogether. Although the faunal assemblage from 12-Hu-935 is generally comparable to 12-Hu-1022 in its mixture of deer and swine bones, fish and turtles were apparently not exploited to any great extent.

Conclusions

The analysis of animal remains from 12-Hu-1022 and the brief inspection of those from 12-Hu-935 provide new insights into animal exploitation practices in the forks of the Wabash vicinity by the Miami Indians who inhabited the upper Wabash River valley area during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. By comparing the identified species in the archaeological faunal assemblage from 12-Hu-1022 to a model of animal resources available within a 3 km radius of the site, we conclude that the Miami were exploiting white-tailed deer, raccoon, wild turkey, and beaver to the levels we would expect, if not slightly greater, given the potential annual yield and annual effective biomass of these species. Aquatic turtles, especially common map turtle and spiny softshell turtle, and black bear were procured in greater numbers than expected. The importance of black bear in this regard may be somewhat exaggerated due to the relatively small size of the overall sample from the site (i.e., a minimum of one individual bear) and the use of biomass and edible meat weights in the model comparison. However, the significance of black bear to both the Indians and the Euroamerican inhabitants of the *pay d'en haut* is well documented in historical documents as well as at archaeological sites.

Several animal groups are surprisingly under represented. Identified fish remains reveal an emphasis on redhorse, a genus of spring-spawning suckers that generally prefer clear water. However, fish remains overall were recovered in numbers far smaller than the environmental setting would lead us to expect. Examination of soil and flotation samples indicates that recovery bias is not responsible. Migratory waterfowl and passenger pigeons were also obtained in quantities far less than expected. We suggest that seasonality of site occupation is somehow responsible for these shortages at 12-Hu-1022. Several other species were absent altogether from the faunal assemblage, namely, elk, bison, opossum, cottontail, box turtle, ruffed grouse, and bobwhite. The most surprising missing species is muskrat, especially in light of the presence of beaver and the relatively late period of the fur trade at this location.

Cultural assimilation is reflected by the presence of cattle and swine remains. Although remains of these species were not as numerous as those from white-tailed deer, raccoon, or wild turkey, the contributions of beef and pork to the local diet were significant. Based on the presence of isolated teeth and foot bones, cattle and pigs were raised locally by the Miami. Surprisingly, chicken bones were not identified at 12-Hu-1022, despite the fowl being observed at early nineteenth century Miami villages.

Based on sites 12-Hu-1022 and 12-Hu-935, archaeological investigations at the forks of the Wabash have the potential of revealing Miami economic patterns, possibly as detailed as the level of individual household consumption. Will similar sites in the area show the same pattern of mixed dependence on wild animals and domesticated livestock? More problematic, will the pattern of primary reliance on terrestrial wildlife from the forests be repeated at additional sites, or will habitation sites be found that reflect concerted efforts at exploiting fish, migratory waterfowl, and/or mammals that were important in the fur trade? If such differences exist, will they be attributable to seasonal scheduling or to preferences by particular households? Archaeological sites that were accidently preserved under the tow path of the Wabash and Erie Canal in northeastern Indiana may shed much new light on the Miami Indians during the early nineteenth century, just prior to the destruction of these villages in 1812 by forces of the United States.

Chapter 9. Botanical Analysis

by Leslie L. Bush

Introduction

12-Hu-1022 is believed to represent the remains of a historic Miami village at the forks of the Wabash, established some time after 1795 and abandoned shortly before it was destroyed by General William Henry Harrison's troops in September 1812 (Mann 1995). The botanical remains from the site are significant first and foremost because of what they reveal about Miami plant subsistence practices in the early 19th century, but they are also significant for historiographical and methodological reasons.

The 12-Hu-1022 botanicals present an opportunity for comparison between historical records describing Miami plant subsistence (at 12-Hu-1022 and elsewhere) and plant remains appearing in the archaeological record. There are several first-hand accounts of Miami subsistence practices in the 18th and 19th centuries (e.g., Sabrevois 1902 [1718], Trowbridge 1938 [1825]). These accounts, however, are incomplete for many reasons. In some instances their authors did not recognize the plants they saw (and so left them unnamed or gave them European names). Other authors saw only cultivated fields and not gathered plants. And still others were able to describe only a single season -- or less -- of an annual subsistence pattern. Most, if not all, authors can be presumed to have seen only those things deemed appropriate for European outsiders to see. Thus particularly powerful or sacred plant-related activities might not be included in historical narratives.

The archaeological record, too, can be expected to be incomplete. Some plant foods that figure prominently in historical records tend to be relatively invisible archaeologically, either because they are difficult to identify to a useful level of specificity (e.g., roots and tubers) or because they simply do not leave unique traces that persist in the soil (e.g., maple syrup). 12-Hu-1022 presents an opportunity to use both historical and archaeological data to achieve a better understanding of Miami subsistence in the early 19th century.

In addition, 12-Hu-1022 is methodologically interesting from an archaeobotanical perspective. Paleoethnobotanists working on open, prehistoric sites in the Eastern Woodlands generally follow the justifiable assumption that only charred seeds can survive from ancient times (Minnis 1981). Since soils act as seed banks for many plants, uncharred seeds almost always occur in flotation samples, but are considered modern contaminants. Although it is an open site, 12-Hu-1022 was occupied until a mere 183 years ago, beyond the time when uncharred seeds would be expected to remain viable in the soil, but within the range that it is possible to expect some survival of uncharred seeds which are present on the site due to cultural processes and not natural ones. (See Fenner 1985, ch. 4 for a discussion of soil seed banks and seed viability over time.)

Further contributing to the expected survival of uncharred seeds on the site is the tow path for the Wabash and Erie canal, which is situated directly over many of the contexts from which flotation was taken. The extremely packed soil of the tow path would prevent most naturally-occurring seeds from entering depths beneath the tow path. Thus, any seeds from about 30 cm below the ground surface should contain only seeds (charred and uncharred) which predate the Wabash and Erie Canal.

Historical accounts of Miami plant subsistence in the early 19th century

Elizabeth Glenn characterizes the time from 1750 to 1815 as the "Conflict Period" in northern Indiana history (Glenn 1992:63). By the late 17th century, native settlement patterns in the area were already determined by the fur trade. By the middle of the 18th century, competition between British and French traders began a 65-year time span during which armed conflict was more usual than the uneasy peace that reigned in the interim periods (Glenn 1992:63). Warfare during this period was as often directed at subsistence as at people, resulting in the frequent destruction of native villages and crops. Glenn notes that the destruction may have increased native dependency on Europeans by adding foodstuffs to the list of goods needed as trade items (Glenn 1992:64).

Crops

According to Kinietz, several contemporary accounts mention Miami crops. Corn beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins and gourds are all noted, although not by all authors (1940:172). A soldier who participated in the destruction of the Miami town at the forks of the Wabash writes that beans, corn, potatoes, pumpkins, watermelons and cucumbers were all cultivated by the townspeople (Glenn 1991:69). Kinietz cites Nicholas Perrot on the primary importance of the native crops to Miami peoples:

> The kinds of food which the savages like best, and which they make most effort to obtain, are the Indian corn, the kidney-bean, and the squash. If they are without these, they think that they are fasting, no matter what abundance of meat and fish they may have in their stores, the Indian corn being to them what bread is to the Frenchman [Perrot in Kinietz 1940:173].

Miami corn seems to have been particularly prized. In an oft-quoted passage, Sabrevois describes Miami corn in 1718:

> They are very industrious, and raise a Kind of indian corn which is unlike that of our tribes at Destroit. Their corn Is white, of the Same size as the other, with much finer husks and much whiter flour [Sabrevois 1902 [1718]:375].

Anson notes that this corn was traded with other tribes and with European traders. By 1760, it was the Miamis' primary source of revenue (1970:56). Corn was certainly present in the town at the forks of the Wabash. One account estimates that 1500 bushels were cut up and destroyed when the town was demolished in mid-September of 1812 (Glenn 1991:69).

Wild plants

In addition to crops, Miamis harvested many wild plants. Marquette mentions plums and grapes (Marquette in Jones 1988:75); blackberries are noted by the Moravian missionaries (Gipson 1938:304-5). Roots seem to have been an important source of food and medicine, especially in times when food was scarce. Trowbridge extensively describes uses of the wild potato, white potato, pond lily roots, Hollow roots and other roots which did not have English names (Trowbridge 1938 [1825]:64-65).

Trade items

By the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Miamis on the Wabash had access to a variety of European foodstuffs. Glenn lists corn, oats, biscuits, hay, vinegar, tea, alcohol, tobacco, sugar, allspice, cloves, nutmeg, pepper, cinnamon, ginger, and mace as items traded by Europeans to natives during that time period (Glenn 1992:67-8). Of these, corn and tobacco are native plants. The corn was probably traded to native groups whose crops had failed or been destroyed. The appearance of tobacco, a native crop, on trade lists is especially interesting. Kinietz notes that none of the historical records he found indicate that Miamis themselves raised tobacco (Kinietz 1940:173). It does seem to have been an important plant for Miamis, however. As early as 1671 Allouez describes a Miami ritual in which tobacco plays a role (in Jones 1982:71).

Agricultural practices, food preparation and storage, other uses of plants

Corn and other crops were raised in floodplain fields, as General Anthony Wayne reported in 1794:

> The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margin of those beautiful rivers, the Miami of the Lakes (pronounced Maumee) and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida [Wayne 1794 in Rafert 1982:6].

While women had primary responsibility for most activities related to plant subsistence, including gathering firewood and cooking, men cleared fields and helped with the harvest (Kinietz 1940, Callender 1978). Once harvested, some corn was dried and stored in houses. Some Miami stored their corn on the cob, ears braided together and hung in the rafters. Others removed corn from the cob (see Callender's photograph of a deer mandible used to remove kernels from the cob [1978, fig. 2]) and stored it in bark baskets. In the event of an enemy approach, or simply to hide it over the winter, corn was cached in underground pits. Wild food plants and cultivated squashes were also dried and stored in houses (Anson 1970:21, Kinietz 1940:174).

Like most cultivation and gathering, cooking was also the province of women. Roasted green corn was a special delicacy (Kinietz 1940:175). While many plants were no doubt eaten raw in season, the usual basis of much maize cuisine was a soup or stew that served as a one-dish meal. Trowbridge writes that the family kettle was always at hand from which everyone could ease their hunger between mealtimes (Trowbridge 1938:66).

In addition to subsistence, plants were used for clothing, shelter and medicine. Cord was made from the fibers of wild nettle (Trowbridge 1938 [1825]:10). Sumac and a plant called "oncaccou" are mentioned as dyes (Kinietz 1940:223). House walls were covered with rush mats and/or bark (Kinietz 1940:170). Healing rituals sometimes featured gourds used as rattles (Kinietz 1940:216 and 218-9). Plants used in more mundane healing included sumac, bark of the root of the cherry tree, crowfoot, meadow rue (Kinietz 1940:221-223), and buckeye root (Trowbridge 1938:48).

Archaeological investigations of plant subsistence at 12-Hu-1022

Methods

Forty flotation samples of between 7.5 and 15 liters were taken from six feature and midden contexts at 12-Hu-1022. Table 17 shows the archaeological contexts from which samples were taken.

In addition, two control samples were taken in February 1995 for flotation and analysis from contexts just off the site. Control sample #1 is from the plow zone on or near the site. Control sample #2 is from the tree line on the south edge of the site.

12-Hu-1022 yielded two other sources of botanical remains. First, some larger remains were identified during excavation. These are reported in Tables 18 and 19. In addition, remnants of nine charred timbers from structures destroyed in 1812 were also encountered on the site. Eight of them were in good enough condition for wood charcoal samples to be taken. Wood charcoal identifications are given in Table 20 and are discussed below.

Flotation samples were processed at Landmark Environmental Services in a SMAP-type flotation machine (see Pearsall 1989:52-68 for a description of such machines). Since good separation of botanical material into the light fraction was achieved, only light fractions were subjected to botanical investigation. Light fractions were sent to the Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology, Indiana University, Bloomington for identification and analysis.

Light fractions were gently sieved through stacks of geologic screens of 2mm, 1.4mm and .71mm. Remains larger than 2mm were completely sorted under a dissection microscope at 7-45x magnification, then counted and weighed. All remains smaller than 2mm were examined under the microscope but, as is customary, only botanical remains other than wood charcoal, maize or nutshellwere removed from the residue. These remains were also counted and weighed. Although some investigators (e.g., Asch and Asch 1985) adjust their data to reflect estimated maize and nutshell smaller than 2 mm,

Table 17. Archaeological Contexts of Flotation Samples.

Feature #	Catalogue #	Coordinates	Description
2	17	26N 13E	storage pit
2	32	26N 13E	storage pit
6	29	31N 36E	midden
6	82	24N 33E	midden
6	90	26N 31E	midden
6	101	24N 31E	midden
6	105	26N 33E	midden
6/Area A	108	26N 33E	midden/hearth
6	110	28N 31E	midden
6	124	26N 38E	midden
6	127	26N 33E	midden
6	137	28N 31E	midden
6/Area A	154	26N 33E	midden/hearth
6	160	28N 33E	midden
6	167	33N 31E	midden
6	187	31N 31E	midden
6	192	31N 33E	midden
6	216	33N 33E	midden
6	223	33N 38E	midden
6	244	31N 40E	midden
6	267	33N 40E	midden
6	276	33N 42E	midden
6	284	33N 36E	midden
6	285	33N 36E	midden
6	292	35N 33E	midden
6	297	35N 40E	midden
6	312	35N 38E	midden
6/Area B	321	35N 40E	hearth
6	324	35N 42E	midden
6/Area C	333	35N 35-38E	hearth
6	336	35N 36E	midden
6	346	37N 38E	midden
6/Area C	350	37N 38E	hearth
7	175	19N 41W	hearth
7	200	21N 41W	hearth
8	178	19N 45W	midden
9	203	21N 41W	midden
9	250	23N 41W	midden
10	339	35N 42E	refuse pit
10	354		refuse pit

most do not. Therefore, the data in Appendix D represent raw counts and weights, without estimated adjustments.

On most open-air sites in the eastern woodlands, any uncharred botanical materials can be assumed to be modern contaminants (Lopinot 1982, Minnis 1981). The relatively young age and tow path-sealed contexts of 12-Hu-1022 mean that at least some uncharred seeds might reflect early 19th-century cultural activities. Therefore, all seeds, whether charred or uncharred, were removed from the residue. Two species were exceptions to the all-pulled rule: Carpetweed (*Mollugo verticillata*) and

Table 18. 12-Hu-1022 Floral Material from 1/4" (4.6mm) screen.

Charred remains	Cat. #294	Cat. #322	Cat. #355	Cat. #341	Cat. #214	Cat. #303
Wood charcoal				4		
Plum/Cherry (*Prunus spp.)*	3	4	1			1
Hickory shell (*Carya spp.*)		1	6	12		
Black Walnut shell (*Juglans nirra)*					9	
Maize kernels (*Zea mays*)						5
Unidentifiable		1				

Table 19. 12-Hu-1022 Floral Material from 1.5mm screen.

	Cat. #161	Cat. #224	Cat. #291	Cat. #293	Cat. #310	Cat. #330	Cat. #335
Charred Remains							
Hickory shell (*Carya spp.*)		7		4			
Walnut shell (*Juglans nigra*)				4			
Maize kernels (*Zea mays*)				14		1	
Plum/cherry (*Prunus spp.*)				6			
Persimmon (*Diospyros Virginiana*)				1			
Fresh Remains							
Fruit skins			1	6	1		
Knotweed/smartweed (*Polygonum spp.*)	1						
Pokeweed (*Phytolacca americana*)	4						
Rock							1

purslane (*Portulaca oleracea)*, both extremely small seeds, were present in such large numbers that, in most cases, these species were removed from only a subsample of the remains that fell through the .71 mm geologic screen. The subsample was then used to estimate the total number of those taxa present in the entire sample. Uncharred bark, buds, fruits skins and unidentifiable botanical items were also removed from the residue. Uncharred rootlets and modern crop fragments were not removed; they are included in the "contamination" category on the original data sheets.

Identifications were made using the comparative collection of the Glenn A. Black Laboratory and standard reference works (Angell 1981, Core et al. 1979, Hoadley 1990, Martin and Barkley 1961, Montgomery 1977, Schopmeyer 1974). Botanical items are identified to the lowest possible taxonomic level, usually the genus. Although some taxa can be identified to species, others could be identified only to family.

Results

Results of the identification are given in Appendix D and Appendix E. Appendix D provides raw counts; Appendix E gives weights of plant remains greater than 2mm.

Uncharred plant remains

As outlined above, at least some of the uncharred plant remains at 12-Hu-1022 could in theory represent the cultural activities of early 19th-century site inhabitants. The uncharred seeds are unlikely to represent modern (i.e., post-Erie and Wabash) contaminants because they are taken from relatively deep contexts and because the tow path would tend to prevent even small numbers of modern seeds from migrating to these depths on much of the site. Therefore, great care was taken to document uncharred remains from the site. It appears, however, that these plant remains are not cultural artifacts. Two lines of evidence, suggested by Keepax's (1977) criteria for determining the status of uncharred seeds, support this conclusion. Most notably, the uncharred remains display an almost complete lack of patterning across the site. Even a cursory glance at Appendix D reveals that the uncharred seeds consist of a limited number of taxa that appear in almost every context across the site. Charred seeds, on the other hand demonstrate the spatial patterning that other cultural artifact classes (e.g., lithics, ceramics) routinely exhibit on archaeological sites.

The uncharred remains on the site also display a striking similarity to the seeds from Control Sample #1. This control sample was taken from the plow zone just off the site and reflects the modern vegetation present in a field currently under cultivation. There are two significant differences between the uncharred seeds from archaeological contexts and the Control Sample #1, however. Control Sample #1 contains cocklebur (*Xanthium pensylvanicum*) seeds and has only one bramble (*Rubus* sp.) seed. Cocklebur is native to Eurasia, Central America and the Mississippi Valley (USDA 1971) and probably spread to Indiana only after 12-Hu-1022 was sealed by the tow path of the Wabash and Erie canal. Deam writes that its close relative, *Xanthium spinosum* was first reported in Indiana in 1875 (Deam 1940:962). Such a scenario would explain the presence of cocklebur only in modern and not ancient deposits on the site. The lack of bramble seeds in Control Sample #1 reflects the frequent disturbances of cultivation. Most other uncharred seeds at 12-Hu-1022 are those of taxa which quickly colonize disturbed areas. Brambles, in contrast, are a woody plant which require several years' growth before they set fruit for the first time. The relative abundance of bramble seeds in the uncharred seed assemblage from 12-Hu-1022 suggests an environment that was disturbed and then abandoned some years before the seeds were preserved (but not abandoned for sufficient time that a forest ecosystem could emerge).

The botanical remains from Control Sample #2, taken from the tree line at the south edge of the site, reflect a markedly different environment than do the remains from either archaeological contexts or the modern plow zone. While the remains do include a substantial number of field colonizers. as would be expected from a sample on the field margin, they also include many woody taxa (e.g., birch, crabapple, buttonbush) that are present only in that sample.

The data are therefore consistent with a scenario in which the Miami village at the forks of the Wabash was abandoned, wild plants allowed to colonize the site and the seeds of these wild plants sealed some 20 years later by the tow path of the Wabash and Erie canal.

Charred Seeds: Crops

Remains of corn and various cucurbits (squashes, melons and gourds) provide evidence of crops cultivated by Miamis at 12-Hu-1022. Corn is ubiquitous, appearing in 31 of 40 flotation contexts, but it is not particularly abundant. The vast majority of the maize remains consists of kernel and cupule fragments. Cob fragments were rare, appearing only in a single sample from Feature 2. Thus it appears that little, if any, of the corn represented in the archaeological record at 12-Hu-1022 was stored on the cob. This finding is consistent with historic accounts of soldiers' cutting up stored corn and leaving it to rot, rather than burning it (Glenn1991). In fact, the generally low quantities of corn at 12-Hu-1022 suggest that none of it represents corn from storage contexts.

The "starch/sugar fragments" listed in Appendix D may also represent corn remains, since corn was a major source of starch in the Miami diet. Whatever their source, the fragments indicate processed food, perhaps the ubiquitous soup or stew that Trowbridge indicates was a mainstay of Miami cooking practices.

Cucurbit remains comprise rind fragments, seed fragments and flower scars (the torus at the crown of the cucurbit hypanthium). They suggest that at least three types of cucurbits were present at 12-Hu-1022. The rind fragments in Features 6 and 10 have the thin, hard walls of the bottle gourd, *Lagenaria siceraria*. Most seed fragments are from large, pumpkin-like seeds; however, the seed from Feature 6 (cat. # 137) most closely matches a modern cantaloupe seed, suggesting a melon of some sort (*Cucumis* sp.). The flower scars most closely match an acorn-type squash. Both seeds and flower scars suggest varieties of *Cucurbita pepo*.

Wild plants

A wide variety of nutshell and nutmeats are found at 12-Hu-1022. Hickory (*Carya* sp.), walnut (*Juglans nigra*), beechnut (*Fagus grandifolia*), hazelnut (*Corylus* sp.) and members of the oak/beech/chestnut family (*Fagaceae*) are all represented. The absolute numbers and weights of nuts are relatively low, however, perhaps reflecting the time of year when the site was abandoned. Since only the earliest hazelnut would have been available by mid-September, any nut remains at 12-Hu-1022 must have been gathered nearly a year before the site was abandoned.

Bramble (*Rubus* sp.) is the most common wild plant found at 12-Hu-1022. The genus consists of more than 300 species of raspberry, blackberry, huckleberry, etc., many of which are native to the northeastern United States and which hybridize easily. They are widely eaten raw, cooked, or dried and are commonly found on archaeological sites in this region.

Vervain (*Verbena* sp.) is less well known to modern people, although it grows easily on recently disturbed ground. Gilmore reports use of the leaves to make a beverage drunk for medicinal purposes (Sioux) or merely for thirst (Omaha) (Gilmore 1977:59). King (1985:174-5) reports medicinal use of the vervain roots and flowers by the Menominee and Ojibwa and writes that the seeds were eaten in California.

Other, less common, charred botanical remains described in Appendix D are from plants that could serve a variety of subsistence and medicinal purposes. (See King 1985 and Kuhnlein and Turner 1991 for documented native uses of these and other plants.) The 1812 burning of 12-Hu-1022 raises the possibility that some of these seeds are early 19th-century natural seed rain that became charred during the fire. While charring of some contaminants is certainly possible, it is unlikely to be the case for the vast majority of charred seeds. First, most burning events tend to be relatively shallow (Miksicek 1987), meaning that charred contaminants would tend to be confined to the plow zone. Second, that all but two of these plants have documented uses by native peoples suggests that most were brought to the site deliberately.

Trade items

None of the European trade items listed by Glenn (1991) appear in the archaeobotanical record at 12-Hu-1022. In fact, with the exception of the melon seed from Feature 6, the botanical remains reflect a subsistence based exclusively on indigenous plants raised or collected by the Miami themselves. This finding contrasts with the overall trend, visible already in the seventeenth century, for trade goods to replace native technologies (Glenn 1991:62).

Patterning

Since only six features were sampled on the site, inferences about spatial patterning at 12-Hu-1022 are necessarily somewhat tenuous. Some trends can be discerned, however. Features 7, 8, and 9 are associated with the structure in the western portion of the excavation area. Of these, only Feature 9, the midden, contains remains of crops. Feature 7, a hearth/cooking area, contains very few botanical remains, 0.1 gram of wood charcoal and a four unidentifiable fragments being the only charred remains found in

25 liters of soil floated from the feature. Contrary to intuitive expectation, hearth areas often contain fewer charred botanical remains than do other types of features. At sites where hearths are shallow features, the active portion of the feature is plowed away, leaving only a burned stain in the soil below the actual cooking area. This does not seem to be the case at 12-Hu-1022, where Feature 7 is defined nearly 30 cm below the ground surface, not just below the plowzone but also below the tow path. 12-Hu-1022 may be an example of a site where the hearths yield few botanical remains because they were regularly cleaned by the site's inhabitants, resulting in the deposition of botanical remains in midden or pits rather than in hearth features. Sabrevois commends the cleanliness of Miami villages:

> They have one custom which is not found among any other nations--they keep Their fort very clean. They do not allow any grass to grow there, and the whole fort is strewn with Sand, like the Thyleris; and, if a dog drops any excrements about the fort, The women pick Them up and carry Them outside [Sabrevois 1902 (1718):376].

Features 6 and 10 are associated with the structure in the eastern portion of the excavation area. Feature 6 is a midden area analogous to Feature 9 and contains broadly similar botanical remains. The hearth/cooking areas within Feature 6 (Area A, Area C) in contrast to Feature 7, contains material much like that in other areas of Feature 6. With General Harrison's troops on the march, perhaps the inhabitants of this cabin decided that cleaning their dirty hearths was low on their list of priorities!

Charred Timbers

Identification of the wood charcoal from eight timbers associated with the eastern structure are given in Table 20. At least five different types of wood were used in building this structure: American elm (*Ulmus americana*), rock elm (*Ulmus thomasii*), sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*), walnut or butternut (*Juglans* sp.) and at least one member of the white oak group (*Quercus* sp.).

Table 20. Charred Timbers from 12-Hu-1022.

Wood species examined (# of specimens identified)	CT-1	CT-2	CT-3	CT-4	CT-6	CT-7	CT-8	CT-9
	Cat# 221	Cat#218	Cat#28 0	Cat#23 2	Cat#23 3	Cat#23 5	Cat#23 6	Cat#28 1
American elm (*Ulnus americana*)						18 (90%)		
Rock elm (*ulmus thomasii*)	20 (100%)							
Sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*)			20 (100%)					
Walnut/Butternut (*Juglans spp.*)							20 (100%)	
White oak group (*Quercus spp.*)		20 (100%)		20 (100%)	20 (100%)	2 (10%)		16 (80%)
Slippery elm (*Ulmus rubra*)								3 (15%)
Unidentifiable hardwood								1 (5%)

Prior to the advent of Dutch elm disease in this century, all these trees would have been readily available at the forks of the Wabash and very suitable as building material. American elm, the wood of Charred Timber 7, is a moderately hard wood that grows in the rich, moist soil near streams. Charred Timber 1 was constructed of rock elm. As its name implies, this elm a very hard wood and usually produces a straight trunk. Sycamore, the wood of Charred Timber 3, is an extremely tough wood, although its specific gravity is not terribly great. It prefers the wet soils on the banks of streams (Little 1980:457). Charred Timber 8 is one of two closely related species, black walnut (*Juglans nigra*) or butternut (*J. cinera*). Walnut wood is as hard as that of the elms, while butternut is somewhat softer. Both are noted for how little they shrink and expand after seasoning (Constantine 1959).

Unlike the other woods represented in the structure at 12-Hu-1022, oaks cannot be identified to genus or species based on wood tissue alone. At best, they can be sorted into "red" or "white" oaks. In northern Indiana, the major species of the white oak group are white oak (*Quercus alba*), swamp white oak (*Q. bicolor*), and bur oak (*Q. macrocarpa*), although other oaks of the white group do grow in the region. At 12-Hu-1022, at least one and probably two of the white oak species are represented since Charred Timbers 2 and 4 have earlywood that is only a singe pore wide while Charred Timbers 6 and 9 have earlywood that is more than one pore wide. Oaks tend to be hard, straight and a popular wood for all kinds of building activities.

The historical record and the archaeological record at 12-Hu-1022

Both the historical and archaeological records of plant use at 12-Hu-1022 suggest a village of maize agriculturalists who also gathered wild plants to supplement their crops. Specific details differ, however, in the two records. Of the crops, all except beans are found in both. Because beans dry naturally on the plant, they are not typically parched before storage as corn kernels sometimes are. In addition, beans are usually eaten boiled rather than roasted, and they have no rind to be dropped in the fire as waste. Thus, beans have fewer chances to enter the archaeological record than do corn and cucurbits. This differential preservation may account for the lack of beans found archaeologically at 12-Hu-1022.[1]

Historical accounts indicate that a variety of roots were important for Miami subsistence and medicine, yet these too are missing from the archaeological record at 12-Hu-1022. Their absence is probably due to the same cause of differential preservation. Even when preserved, roots can be extremely difficult to identify (Pearsall 1989); it is possible that the large number of unidentifiable items from Feature 2 represent badly damaged root fragments.

Finally, European trade items are conspicuously absent from the archaeobotanical record at 12-Hu-1022. In part, this may be because highly processed foods such as vinegar, spirits, sugar and spices (if ground) would be almost invisible archaeologically. Other trade foods, such as oats and tobacco, could be expected to leave archaeological traces, but these are not found at 12-Hu-1022.[2]

Although historical accounts indicate that Miamis made use of many wild plants, the identities of these plants are not recorded (with the exception of bramble, grape and the roots identified by Trowbridge). Since all but two of the plants, or at least members of their genus, are native to North America, early travelers may have never encountered such popular native plants as goosefoot (*Chenopodium* sp.) or pigweed (*Amaranthus* sp.), let alone have known names for them. Besides being ubiquitous New World foods, grapes (*Vitis* sp.) and brambles (*Rubus* sp.) have European counterparts, so it is not surprising that they were recognized and recorded. In addition, plants whose primary uses are medicinal (e.g., vervain [*Verbena* sp.]) may not have been seen by visitors more interested in trade than healing.

While it may seem trivially obvious to note that both archaeological and historical records are incomplete, the different biases of the records are interesting and important. Inferences drawn solely from the archaeological botanical remains would largely omit the vast political and economic forces of European contact that had begun changing Miami lifeways two centuries earlier. Inferences drawn solely from historical accounts would miss details of everyday life, especially those relating to diet and healing. Perhaps because early informants are almost exclusively male, historical records of plant-subsistence activities tend to reflect mostly those activities in which European males would have engaged (i.e.,

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[1] The item listed as "bean/persimmon" in Feature 6 (cat. #333) may well be a domesticated bean, but not enough of the seed is present to distinguish it from persimmon, which has a similar texture.

[2] The extremely small size of tobacco seeds raises the possibility that it may have been missed in flotation or analysis, but such a scenario is unlikely given the routine recovery of seeds of comparable size such as carpetweed (*Mollugo verticillata*) and Venus's looking-glass (*Triodanis perfioliata*). It is possible, however, that the five poorly-preserved grass seeds from Feature 2 might represent European barley (*Hordeum* sp.) -- but even then the seeds could also be the native little barley, *Hordeum pusillum*.

agriculture). The archaeological record, on the other hand, reflects the results of both male and female activities. While women planted, cultivated and gathered wild plants, men cleared fields, harvested and played primary roles in the healing rituals that often involved gourds and other plants.

Conclusion

Archaeological botanical remains from the Miami village at the forks of the Wabash suggest that, even as late as 1812, plant-related subsistence activities had changed very little from those of the pre-contact past. Mintz (1985) argues that foodways are one of the most identity-laden aspects of any culture, fundamental to human social and physical connections with the world. At 12-Hu-1022, metal pots replaced ceramic vessels and guns were replacing bows, yet Miamis evidently chose not to rely on traders for their food or their planting seeds. Rather, they actively held to indigenous foodways, even as other aspects of material culture changed rapidly in the face of European encroachment.

Chapter 10. Evaluation of Research Questions

Following in the cultural ecological framework initially developed as the research design for the mitigation of 12-Hu-1022, questions concerning chronology, subsistence and settlement patterns are addressed below. Moving beyond these questions some, at least preliminary, findings concerning the issues of acculturation, cultural continuity and ethnic identity are presented. These research questions were evaluated in light of the data, both archaeological and ethnohistorical, uncovered as a result of Phase III archaeological investigations at 12-Hu-1022.

Research Question #1

What is the chronology of the historic occupation of 12-Hu-1022 and what are the tribal and/or ethnic affiliations of the historic occupants of the site?

Located at the forks of the Wabash, 12-Hu-1022 occupied an important point along the Maumee-Wabash water route which linked the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico. The Maumee and Wabash rivers were linked by what Anglo-Americans came to call the "long portage" (see Glenn 1991a). The portage consisted of a nine mile stretch of land connecting the navigable portions of the St. Mary's and Little rivers. The Little River, however, was navigable only during certain times of the year and, therefore, the portage route did not truly end until the Little River gave way to the Wabash at the forks. Control of the portage could be maintained at either the headwaters of the Maumee or the forks of the Wabash. It was at the former that the Miami established a large, permanent village early in the 18th century.

This village, called Kekionga, would be the focus of the Miami occupation of the Maumee-Wabash country for most of the 18th century. The forks of the Wabash does not seem to have been the site of a permanent settlement during the time of Kekionga's reign as the principal Miami village. Several firsthand accounts from the 18th century document the location of the primary Native American villages along the Maumee-Wabash waterway. Thomas Hutchins in 1762, George Croghan in 1765, Jehu Hay in 1774, Paul Des Ruisseau in 1778 and Henry Hamilton in 1778 each passed through the forks of the Wabash, leaving behind accounts of their travels. Croghan, Hay and, in particularly, Hamilton gave vivid descriptions of the forks of the Wabash and the long portage. None mention the presence of a Native American settlement at or near the forks.

It is not until the 1790s, as the Americans sought to pacify the tribes of the Old Northwest, that a village is noted as being located at the forks of the Wabash. In 1791 Arthur St. Clair organized two raids against the Miami and their confederates on the Wabash. The second expedition was to target the Miami village at the junction of the Eel and Wabash rivers. However, St. Clair also related to his commander for the raid, General James Wilkinson, a list of secondary targets. St. Clair's intelligence, which he relayed to Wilkinson, included "an inconsiderable village" at the forks of the Wabash (Smith 1882 (2):227-228). Antoine Gamlin, leaving Vincennes in 1790, carried a message to the Miami at Kekionga, passing through the forks of the Wabash on his way (ASP IA (1):93). Gamlin made a point of stopping at each village he encountered along his route up the Wabash. That he made no mention of a village at the forks can be taken to mean that he did not find one there. St. Clair's intelligence had not been able to ascertain whether or not this village was inhabited in 1791. Gamlin's journal seems to indicate that it was not and that it had been abandoned prior to 1790.

The only documentary confirmation of a Native American village at or near the forks of the Wabash prior to the 19th century comes during Gerard T. Hopkins' 1804 visit to the region as a member of the Quaker delegation to the Miami. Seven miles below the forks, the Quakers planned to establish an experimental farm designed to teach Euro-American farming techniques to the Miami. William Wells and a Wea named Massanonga led the Quakers to a spot on the Wabash where twenty-five acres of land had been previously cleared. Hopkins recorded in his journal that the spot "was formerly the seat of an Indian Town of Delawares" (Walker 1979:397). Wells and Massanonga must have known of the abandoned village and that the twenty-five acres of cleared, fertile land would greatly facilitate the Quakers' plans. They must have also informed Hopkins that the village had been the home of the Delaware, not the Miami. This abandoned Delaware village is the most likely candidate for the

"inconsiderable" village mentioned by St. Clair in 1791. It had apparently been deserted prior to 1790 and was probably never very substantial.

The Hopkins journal is also important for establishing that no Miami were living at the forks of the Wabash in 1804. This is significant because following the defeat of the Miami confederacy at Fallen Timbers and the construction of Fort Wayne at the headwaters of the Maumee in 1794, the Miami fled Kekionga. However, instead of relocating to the forks of the Wabash as might have been expected, the Miami decided to remove themselves even further from the Americans and established their principal village at the Mississinewa River. Lieutenant John Wade met Richardville on his way to establish the Mississinewa village. Richardville would remain on the Mississinewa until the War of 1812. Pacane also apparently moved to Mississinewa until at least 1809, as indicated by Hyacinth Lasselle's account book for the years 1801-1809 (Indiana State Library, Lasselle Family Papers).

That year, 1809, is a crucial one in the history of the forks of the Wabash Miami village. In that year William Henry Harrison traveled to Fort Wayne to secure a treaty with the Miami, Potawatomi and Delaware. On his return trip down the Wabash to Vincennes, Harrison passed through the camp of Pacane and the "Indian Villages at the Forks of the Wabash", marking the first documentary record of the Miami settlements at the forks. This puts the date for the establishment of the forks of the Wabash village sometime between 1804 and 1809.

This settlement was a permanent village that was probably occupied year around by at least a portion of the population. It was continuously occupied from 1809 until the outbreak of the War of 1812. During the siege of Fort Wayne in August and September 1812 warriors under Chapine, a war chief, left the forks to take part in the siege. As a consequence of their participation in this and other hostile actions at Fort Harrison and Pigeon Roost, the Miami at the forks would become a primary target for Harrison's retribution following his relief of Fort Wayne. The accounts of the destruction establish several key points concerning the forks of the Wabash settlements. First, Harrison states definitively that the forks of the Wabash was a Miami settlement (Esarey 1922 (1):143). Unlike at Kekionga earlier and at Mississinewa in 1812, there does not seem to have been any other tribal groups living at the forks with the Miami. Elias Darnell makes it clear that this was a substantial settlement, with permanent log homes and extensive corn fields (Darnell 1978:13). Most importantly for the present study, Darnell establishes the fact that the forks of the Wabash village stretched for "three or four miles" along the Wabash (Darnell 1978:13). Finally, both Darnell and William Northcutt attest to the fact that the houses, both bark and log, and the corn of the Miami were burned on September 15 and 16, 1812 (Darnell 1978:13; Clift 1958:171). In sum, the documentary record reveals that between at least 1809 and 1812 a Miami settlement, consisting of up to four distinct areas--called villages by Darnell--existed at the forks of the Wabash. It was this settlement which was destroyed by American forces in September, 1812.

Phase III archaeological investigations at 12-Hu-1022 uncovered the remains of a historic aboriginal habitation site. A critical evaluation of the artifactual assemblage from the site, coupled with the documentary record, verifies that site 12-Hu-1022 was a portion of the early 19th century Miami settlement at the forks of the Wabash. While much of the European-introduced material culture traded to Native American groups, and subsequently found on aboriginal sites of the historic period, remained essentially unchanged throughout the 150+ year span of the historic Native American occupation of the Wabash valley (see Glenn 1992), certain types of artifacts are diagnostic of much more brief periods of time.

Silver ornaments manufactured specifically for the fur and Indian trade, such as the brooches and ear bobs found on the site, have been called "the best single criterion for dating archaeological sites of the Late Historic Period, 1760-1820 ... (Quimby 1966:91). According to Quimby, silver ornaments produced exclusively for the fur and Indian trade did not become popular trade items until after 1760 (1966:91). Glenn (1992) has recently examined the trade routes and relationships of the Miami and Delaware in northern Indiana from an ethnohistorical perspective. Her findings seem to correspond with Quimby's. Commenting on trade goods of the French period (1665-1750) she found that they were, "for the most part, goods routinely manufactured or produced within the existing European economy" (1992:62, Table 1). Soon after 1760 trade silver ornaments gained wide spread popularity. Again, Glenn has summed up this trend for the period between 1750 and 1815:

> By far the greatest change in types of goods available in the region was caused by the increase in goods manufactured exclusively to appeal to Native American preferences ... Perhaps most important were things for personal adornment: silver jewelry (i.e., ear bobs, boxes and wheels, broaches and gorgets, crosses, arm and wrist bands, and hair decorations) ... [1992:67].

The presence of trade silver clearly places 12-Hu-1022 in the Late Historic Period (1760-1820) as defined by Quimby (1966), in the Conflict Period (1750-1815) as defined by Glenn (1992).

Even more sensitive chronometric indicators recovered at the site are the English blade gunflints. The French ability to keep secrete blade gunflint technology meant that British blade gunflints were not even being manufactured before about 1775 (De Lotbiniere 1980:156). It was several years more before British blade gunflints made it to North America in quantities sufficient to register in the archaeological record. Hamilton and Emery assert that British blade gunflints did not become common in North America until after 1800 (1988:14). British blade gunflints make up 69.2% of the 13 whole gunflints found at 12-Hu-1022, indicating a post 1800 date for the occupation of the site. British blade gunflints remain common, becoming the most common gunflint type between 1825 and 1850, on historic sites throughout the remainder of the flintlock era (see Kent 1983). However, they provide a convenient *terminus post quem* date, 1800, for the occupation of the site.

The final temporal indicators in the site assemblage help to define the terminal occupation date of the site, they are the Euro-American refined earthenware ceramics. The two plain creamware sherds are of the light yellow variety. It was this relatively inexpensive type creamware that was most popular from ca. 1790 until ca. 1820 (Noël Hume 1970:126-128, South 1978:72). Creamware was superseded in popularity by pearlware, which was first produced in 1779. Pearlware peaked in popularity around 1810. Pearlwares comprise 66.6% of Euro-American ceramics recovered from the site and 77% of the refined earthenwares, six of the 10 sherds belonging to a single polychrome handpainted saucer. The fine line and sprig floral motif on this saucer, done in soft pastels, was most common on pearlwares between ca. 1795 and 1815. Conspicuously absent from the ceramic assemblage are whitewares, which would suggest a post 1820 occupation at the site The two ware types present in the artifact assemblage--creamware and pearlware--convincingly argue for a pre-1820 date for the occupation of the site.

Taken together these artifacts strongly suggest that the site was inhabited sometime after 1800 and abandoned sometime before 1820. The archaeological evidence, then, corresponds with what is known about the forks of the Wabash from the documentary record. Between the two sets of data it can reasonably be assumed that the forks of the Wabash, and site 12-Hu-1022, was not the site of a permanent Miami settlement until sometime after 1804. From at least 1809 until 1812 a large Miami settlement was present at the forks of the Wabash. Destroyed by American forces in 1812, most of this settlement, including 12-Hu-1022, was never re-occupied.

Research Question #2

What subsistence activities were taking place at the site and what do these activities say about the seasonality of the site and the nature of the exploitable resources in the upper Wabash region?

The excavation of 12-Hu-1022 provides a unique opportunity to examine Miami subsistence activities at a major Miami settlement in the upper Wabash region during the early years of the 19th century and just prior to the War of 1812. Faunal remains were by far the most common cultural material recovered at the site, numbering over 3,000 specimens. Additionally, fine screen and flotation techniques recovered a significant amount of archaeobotanical remains which aide in presenting a more complete picture of the subsistence activities of the Miami living at the forks of the Wabash. Detailed analysis of these two data sets has been presented in Chapters 8 and 9. The following, then, is an attempt to bring together some insights into Miami subsistence as reflected in these archaeological data and the ethnohistorical record.

The Miami, like most other Algonquian peoples of the Great Lakes region, followed a seasonal subsistence strategy based on horticulture, hunting, gathering, fishing and, increasingly during the

historic period, trade with Euro-Americans. Zeisberger, writing between 1779 and 1780 and commenting mainly on the tribes of the Ohio country, has aptly characterized this cycle:

> The men hunt, secure meat for the household, clothing for their wives and children, getting it in exchange for hides, build houses or huts, and also help their wives clear the land for cultivation ... The duties of the women are cooking, finding fire-wood, planting and reaping. They plant corn, principally, making of this their bread, which is baked in the ashes, and preparing it with various dishes.
>
> The best time for the chase is in the fall, when the game is fat and the hides are good. Hence, they commonly in September and October go hunting with their families, remaining afield until the New Year or longer, though after that the skins cannot be used ... The deer, which are most sought and are larger than the European roe, have the best skins and are most valued by the Europeans. After the New Year they [the Indians] devote themselves to the catching of the beaver, the raccoon, the fox and other fur yielding animals; they also hunt the bear, at that time very fat, as a rule, and hibernating in dens, hollow trees or rocks or thickets ... In February sugar-boiling begins ... This is the work of the women, the men continuing the chase. When planting is past, the summer chase begins at the end of June or the beginning of July, when the deer take on reddish hue and pelts are again good and fit for trade [Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:13-14].

Using his knowledge of Miami subsistence practices to a military advantage, William Henry Harrison, commented on the practicality of winter campaigns against the Miami and other Indians, leaving behind one of the few, if incomplete, accounts of the Miami seasonal cycle:

> In the months Feby. March and April the towns are abandoned the men are hunting and the women and children (particularly to the north of the Wabash) are scattered about making sugar. The corn is at that season universally hid in small parcells in the earth and could not be found ... Such an expedition in the summer and fall would be highly advantageous because the Indians are at their Towns and their corn can be destroyed [Esarey 1922 (2):298-299].

The reliance on corn as the staple of Miami diet, supplemented by beans and squash, and the particular nature of "Miami corn" has been well recorded (Anson 1970; Kinietz 1940:173; Sabrevois 1902 [1718]375 and Rafert 1992). In general, Miami horticulture lasted from late spring until late fall. The Utshetsheekutaa moon (June) was the hilling corn moon in Miami cosmology (Trowbridge 1938:50). This refers to the Miami method of horticulture. At planting time the women of the village would take to the fields and build up small mounds of earth. The seeds being sown, usually intermixed, were placed in each mound, known as corn hills. As late as 1804 the corn hills in the Indian fields at the abandoned site of Kekionga were still visible (Hopkins 1862). By August--the Keeshingwaa moon in Miami cosmology--the corn was "Fit to be eaten" (Trowbridge 1938:50). This was when the corn was first ripe and a cause of celebration among many eastern woodland peoples called the Green Corn ceremony. During this period (May through August) and until the final harvest sometime early in October the village was most intensively occupied.

Throughout the rest of the year, the village was to one degree or another left behind as the Miami broke into small bands to hunt and to gather wild food crops. During the fall and winter months, the hunt was the principal subsistence activity of the Miami, with white-tail deer and bear being the most sought after game. Moravian missionary David Zeisberger summarized these hunts:

> In the fall, when the Indians hunt the deer, they take no notice of the bears; otherwise they would spoil their fall hunting. They do, however, notice their tracks and whither they lead. At the end of December the bears, having fattened, seek their winter quarters ... When the deer hunt of the fall, at which season skins are best, is over, the Indians immediately prepare for the bear hunt. They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bears are in hollow trees, it is frequently necessary to cut down the tree, as the bear will not leave his retreat otherwise. In case the bear comes out when they hammer on the tree and make a noise, they stand prepared with their guns to kill him as soon as most of his bulk is emerged. Their skins are no great object for trade, hence the Indians prefer to use them for their sleeping places, for which their long hair makes them peculiarly useful [Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:58].

While no documentary evidence concerning the specific locations of the Miami hunting camps during the early years of the 19th century has come to light, Hay's journal of his visit to Miamis Town indicates that they were generally not more than a couple days travel from the permanent villages (Quaife 1915). Thomas Scattergood Teas, a visitor to the upper Wabash in 1821, found evidence of numerous "Indian hunting camps" along the upper Wabash at a time during which the Miami were living at the forks of the Wabash village (Lindley 1916:246-247). The distance of hunting camps from the village was, of course, subject to the availability of first-line game species. For example among the Miamis' neighbors to the south, the Delaware, Wepler (1992:75) has observed that as the game resources near the villages declined as a result of over hunting, Delaware hunters were forced farther and farther afield.

As the late winter hunt wound down the women and children left the hunting camps and made new camps in the maple groves. Maple sugaring had, by the late 18th and early 19th centuries become an essential, rather than supplementary, part of the Miami subsistence strategy. For, like hunting and horticulture, the product of this endeavor could be used not only for subsistence but also in trade with Euro-Americans. In the Miami calendar the Ontekwe moon, the "Raven moon" (April) was when "the sap runs" and "the ravens are most numerous" (Trowbridge 1938:50). Hopkins and the Quakers arriving at Fort Wayne in April, 1804 found that assembling the Miami during the sugaring season was not an easy task. Speaking for the Potawatomi and Miami, Five Medals told the Quakers they could not assemble their young men and women because the men were out hunting and the women and children were away at their "sugar Camps" (Walker 1979:385-386). As the sugaring season had just started, Five Medals informed the Quakers that the "time is far off when they will return to our towns" (Walker 1978:386). The sugaring season generally lasted from one to two months, depending on the weather (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:48-49). While waiting for the Miami and Potawatomi to send runners to their respective hunting and sugaring camps, the Quakers took in the sites around the Fort Wayne region. On April 7, accompanied by William Wells, they visited nearby Indian--probably Miami--sugar camps:

> Visited William Wells, and rode with him up the St. Mary's about five miles. On our way we passed several sugar camps, at which were the Indian women and children who were employed in making sugar. Their huts were large, and covered with the bark of the Buck Eye wood. Their troughs for catching the sugar water as it is called, are made of the bark of the red elm, they are made thin, and the ends tied together [Hopkins 1862:64-65).

Zeisberger recorded the process in even greater detail:

> The thickest of the trees are two feet, sometimes more, in diameter ... Seven to eight gallons of sap are regarded as necessary for a pound of sugar ... The sap, which is of a brownish color and becomes darker the longer it boils, is boiled until it gets to be of the consistency of

> molasses, is then poured off and kept ... It is important to boil this over a slow fire, for the sap readily boils over and is easily burned. If the boiled sap is stirred until cold, the sugar becomes granulated ... As the Indian lack the dishes and do not care to take the time to prepare it in this way, they usually form it into cakes, put it in a kettle or dish, or in default of these, on a stone and let it cool, when it becomes hard and may be easily preserved in baskets [Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:49-50].

While maple sugaring leaves only ephemeral traces in the archeological record (i.e. copper/brass and tin containers possibly used in the sugaring process), other Miami gathering activities are more fully represented. The archaeobotanical data recovered from the site revealed a wide array of wild plants used or potentially used by the Miami. Unfortunately very few documentary sources record Miami gathering activities. This is probably partially due to fact that gathering was done by the women out of site from most Euro-American chroniclers and partially because gathering was done year round as a secondary activity to planting, sugaring, harvesting and hunting (see Wepler 1992 for a good discussion of the seasonal cycle). From the village during planting time, forays could be made for the collection of roots and herbs. By harvest time berries were ripening on the vines. As harvest ended and the fall hunt resumed, nuts could be collected. In the winter, early spring and right up until "hoeing time" wild potatoes could be gathered (Trowbridge 1938:64-65).

Like gathering, fishing seems to have been a supplementary subsistence activity among the Miami. Miami informants told Trowbridge that the Miami ate every "kind of fish caught in the neighboring lakes and rivers" (1938:64). Redhorse suckers and sturgeon seem to have been particularly targeted, perhaps due to the relative ease of catching them during their spring spawning runs. Speaking with John Johnston, William Wells and the Quakers in 1804 of fish in general and the spring spawning run of the "Sturgeon" specifically, Little Turtle jokingly "proposed to Johnston a project which was to Join him in building a stone Dam at the Junction of the two Rivers to prevent the sturgeon from getting back again to the lake and then he said you and I will live upon them this summer" (Walker 1979:398). It was probably at this time, early spring, when these fish were spawning and could be easily taken by two or three pronged leisters, that turtles were fortuitously taken. The Miami informants interviewed by Trowbridge in the early 1820s and William Wells and Massanonga, the Wea guide for the Quakers in 1804, agreed that turtles, and soft shelled turtles particularly, were "esteemed excellent food", "a delicacy" by the Miami (McCord 1970:52; Trowbridge 1938:64).

Up to this point, the Miami subsistence strategy outlined above differs little from the seasonal subsistence strategies employed by late prehistoric peoples of the region (see Reidhead 1981:24-82 for example). However, over one hundred and fifty years of contact with Euro-American groups had introduced some non-indigenous foods into the Miami diet. It is interesting to note that the European introduced animal species recovered archaeologically at the site--cattle and swine--are not mentioned in any of the pre-1813 accounts of the forks of the Wabash village, while the only European introduced animal documented to have been present at the forks of the Wabash village--chickens--do not appear in the archaeological assemblage from the site. William Northcutt related that when the American military arrived at the forks village in September 1812, he and some of the other soldiers chased down a chicken and cooked it that first evening (Clift 1958:171). Though in general the Miami seemed to have disdained keeping livestock, Colonel John B. Campbell found and killed livestock at the Miami villages on the Mississinewa River in 1812 (Esarey 1922 (2):255).

In sum, the archaeological excavation of 12-Hu-1022 and the documentary record provide a reasonably detailed and complete picture of Miami subsistence at the beginning of the 19th century. While Miami subsistence activities had changed in response to a myriad of factors during the historic period--the decline of bison populations, the increased emphasis placed on fur bearing species such as beaver due to the fur trade and the introduction of non-indigenous plant and animal species--the seasonal cycle based on horticulture, hunting and gathering remained essentially unchanged. It was around this seasonal cycle that the most important aspects of Miami social life were centered. Directed efforts to change the Miami subsistence strategy--as Little Turtle, Wells and the Quakers quickly learned in 1804--met with vehement opposition.

Research Question #3

How does the site fit into the regional settlement patterns of the aboriginal groups (primarily the Miami) known to have inhabited the Maumee-Wabash region during the 18th and 19th centuries?

Generally speaking the re-settlement of the Maumee-Wabash waterway at the turn of the 18th century by the Miami--Miami, Wea and Piankashaw--was "a trade determined population distribution", as the Miami sought to locate themselves along major trade routes and at major portages (Glenn 1992:62 Trubowitz 1992:243). Other factors, though, should not be discounted, such as the desire to reclaim areas traditionally considered tribal homelands, intra-tribal strife, factionalism and access to larger game populations and other exploitable resources. Once along the Maumee-Wabash waterway at three principal village locations--the Piankashaw settlement near Vincennes, the Wea villages at Ouiatanon and Kekionga at the headwaters of the Maumee--these and other factors affected the dispersal of the Miami over the northern portion of what is today the state of Indiana. The capitulation of the French in 1760 did little to alter the relationship of the French and Indians or their respective settlement patterns. Both remained clustered around the old French posts which still served as trading centers (Glenn 1992:64-66; Mann 1994b:20). The coming of the Americans, however, did lead to substantial changes in the spatial organization of the fur trade. American defeat of first the British and then the Miami confederacy led to a break down of the settlements around the former French posts, especially at the Kekionga/Fort Miamis complex where the establishment of the American post, Fort Wayne, in 1794 led to the abandonment of Kekionga (Glenn 1992:66; Mann 1994b:20-21). This diaspora led to the Miami occupation of the upper Wabash River and its tributaries including the Mississinewa, Eel, St. Joseph, Elkhart and Yellow rivers (Glenn 1992:66). The eventual establishment of the forks of the Wabash village was a consequence of this shift in settlement patterns.

At the level of the permanent village, Miami settlements can be characterized as rather dispersed, linear villages, tending to extend for some length along the banks of rivers and major streams, sometimes for up to several miles. The Wea village (12-T-6), located along the central Wabash in present day Tippecanoe county and 12-Hu-1022 provide the best opportunity to compare Miami settlement patterns based on the archaeological record. The Wea village, the primary aboriginal settlement at the village/fort complex commonly referred to as Ouiatanon in the ethnohistoric record, stretched for at least one-half mile along the Wabash River and encompassed 34.6 hectare (fifty acres) (Jones 1988; Trubowitz 1992:249). Intensive archaeological survey of this site over a number of years found that the site occupied the first two ridges south of the river, with the highest artifact density occurring on the ridge closest to the river, the north ridge (Jones 1988:376; Trubowitz 1992:249). While these floodplain ridges, which parallel the Wabash River, are not high enough today to even register on U.S.G.S. topographic maps of the region, they probably afforded ample protection for the Wea from all but the most severe flooding episodes. The expansive floodplain to the east of the village likely served as the corn fields for the Wea. Preliminary examinations of the surface distributions within the site have shown five possible artifact clusters. Additionally, three scatters of 18th century materials have been found to the west and south of the main component of the Wea village (Trubowitz 1992:253). Such a surface distribution may be indicative of a dispersed pattern of settlement where no formal rules governed the placement of houses. Individual homes may not have been located close together and some may have been farther removed than others.

The Miami village at the forks of the Wabash sits in a similar topographic setting. Archaeological surface reconnaissance and excavations at 12-Hu-1022 have conclusively shown that the Miami occupation of the site is confined to the first outwash terrace north of the Wabash River. Even more so than at the Wea village, the selection of the first rise north of the river--the outwash terrace--by the Miami for their village at the forks afforded protection from flooding and easy access to the floodplain for cultivation. Evidence for the deliberate selection by the Miami of the terrace rather than the floodplain for the placement of their village comes from recent Phase III archaeological excavations at site 12-Hu-935. At that site Sherman (1996) has found further substantiation of the pre-1813 Miami village at the forks, located this time beneath the fill on the berm side of the Wabash and Erie Canal. 12-Hu-935 is located ca. one mile from the forks proper and ca. three quarters of a mile 12-Hu-1022. Careful analysis of the geologic and pedogenic history of the site has revealed that 12-Hu-935 and 12-Hu-1022 are both

located on the first outwash terrace north of the Wabash River (Sherman 1996:Figure 4). 12-Hu-935 is of further significance in that it provides archaeological confirmation of the dispersed nature of the Miami settlement at the forks. Taken together, sites 12-Hu-1022 and 12-Hu-935 demonstrate that a Miami settlement existed along the north bank of the Wabash River from one mile below the forks proper to at least one and three quarter miles below the forks. In all likelihood this Miami settlement stretched up river from 12-Hu-935 to the forks proper and down river for up to one or two more miles. From an archaeological perspective, preservation of additional portions of this settlement is likely to occur in those areas where either the tow path or berm of the Wabash and Erie Canal have been placed on top of the outwash terrace (T1) of the Wabash River.

While by the 19th century the Miami villages appear to have been even more dispersed than those of their 18th century predecessors, archaeological data has shown that both the 18th century Wea and the 19th century Miami chose broadly similar topographic situations for their permanent villages. Locations near ecotonal areas that offered access to a wide range of exploitable resources as well as fertile expanses of floodplain seem to be key to the selection of village sites. Additional factors are those broader settlement considerations mentioned above, such as occupation of a strategic point along trade and transportation routes. Clearly, the forks of the Wabash meets each of these criteria.

The ethnohistoric record aides in rounding out the picture of Miami settlement during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Again the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger provides a good summary of Algonquian settlement patterns in his history of North American Indians (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910). According to Zeisberger:

> Their towns are generally laid out near a lake or river or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are common in the spring. In building towns no regular plan is observed but every one builds according to his fancy. The houses are not built close together ... When they have lived long in one place, it at last becomes troublesome to secure wood for fuel because all the wood in the neighborhood has been used. This causes them to leave the place and plan a new village for the sake of the wood and other conveniences [Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:87].

The diminishment of resources adjacent to village sites may be one cause for the dispersed nature of 19th century villages. As population increased, new house sites tended to be situated nearer to exploitable resources and, consequently, farther removed from the initial point of settlement. Darnell described just such a situation at the forks of the Wabash when he noted that near "the town where the timber has been cut, it is covered with an elegant coat of blue grass" (Darnell 1978:13). An expanse of open field was developing between the edge of the village and the unlogged forest, forcing the Miami farther and farther afield to collect timber for fuel or building. The Algonquian desire to remain near their floodplain fields and the river, which was a resource in and of itself, resulted in a linear dispersion of the population rather than the radial pattern common to Anglo-Americans.

Other, less materialistic, factors, though, were also likely at play. The seemingly loose nature of Algonquian social structure allowed for a great deal of personal freedom, an aspect of Algonquian culture that generally caught the eye of Euro-American chronolicers, particularly those of a religious persuasion. Zeisberger was no exception to this rule:

> The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.
>
> Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society ... [Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:90].

The factionalism among the Miami has often been mentioned in this study. Removal from established villages by disaffected individuals or even entire bands was one of the principal ways in which new Miami settlements were created during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Such a split probably led to the establishment of the Eel River villages by disaffected villagers at Kekionga and while the two groups could and did act in unison, differences in opinion were often apparent in their dealings with the Americans and the British. It was also such a split that may have led to the settlement of the forks of the Wabash early in the 19th century. Vehemently anti-American Miami may have separated themselves from the ever wavering Miami at the Mississinewa River.

Perhaps ironically, it is accounts left by American military expeditions against these Miami that offer the best first hand descriptions of Miami villages at that period. In 1791 General Wilkinson led an expedition against the Miami village on the Eel River, Kenapacomaqua. His description of the village bears repeating, "found this town *scattered* along Eel river *for full three miles*, on an uneven, scrubby oak barren, *intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets* of plum hazel, and blue jackets (ASP IA (1):134 emphasis added). Three significant points were made by Wilkinson. First, the overall scattered nature of the village was noted and recognized for what it was, a single dispersed settlement, not several small "villages". Second, uninhabitable portions of the area encompassed by the village were recognized and avoided. Continually wet or poorly drained areas were not selected for house sites. These and other uninhabited portions of the settlement were not necessarily cleared of undergrowth, which meant that individual homes or clusters of homes could be and were set off from others by overgrown and, as Wilkinson found, almost impenetrable thickets. These clusters of homes, which could be as few as two homes and up to several, were often referred to as villages by Euro-American observers. George Winter may have had such an impression when while visiting the Potawatomi village of Kee-waw-knay he noted that, "An Indian village does not *always consist* of very many wigwams ... " (Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:59 emphasis in original). Indian agent at Fort Wayne in 1817, Benjamin Stickney, gave an even less flattering assessment of the Miami villages within the bounds of his agency:

> All the Miamis and Eel river Miamies are under my charge and are about one thousand four hundred in number ... They have places commonly called villages, but perhaps not correctly, as they have no uniform place of residence. During the fall, winter and part of the spring, they are scattered in the woods hunting. The respective bands assemble together in the spring at their ordinary places of resort, where some have crude cabins ... Near those places of resort they plant some corn. There are eleven of those places of resort called villages within my agency. The Miamies and Eel River Miamies reside principally on the Wabash, Mississinewa and Eel Rivers and the head of the White river [Thornbrough 1961:252].

It would, perhaps, be useful to consider these intra-settlement clusters of homes as neighborhoods. Within these neighborhoods, the occupants may have been linked by ethnic, clan, band, familial or other social ties. The 1812 description of the Miami settlement at Mississinewa is an excellent example of this. Implicit in Harrison's instructions to Colonel Campbell was that at Mississinewa individual groups or bands maintained separate camps along the three mile settlement (Esarey 1922 (2):229). Accounts of the attack on the Mississinewa villages point to the presence of at least four clusters of homes, variously referred to by the participants in the action as a single village or as four distinct villages. At least one cluster was inhabited by both Miami and Delaware (see Glenn et al. 1977 for a detailed account of the Mississinewa settlement during this period). Such an arrangement is consistent with Wilkinson's description of the Eel River village and with what is known of the forks of the Wabash village. From the first description of the forks of the Wabash village, given by Harrison in 1809, it is clear that the village was dispersed along the Wabash, for he notes that he passed through "the Indian Villages" at the forks (Esarey 1922 (1):376). The 1812 accounts of the settlement reinforce Harrison's initial assessments. Harrison, himself, again refers to the "Towns" at the forks of the Wabash (Esarey 1922 (2):144-145). Darnell provides the most complete picture of the forks settlement. From his description it is clear that at least four clusters of Miami homes were situated in a three or four mile

stretch of land running along the north bank of the Wabash beginning at the forks of the Wabash (Darnell 1978:13). Archaeological site 12-Hu-1022 is interpreted here as being the, at least, partial remains of a portion of one cluster of Miami huts and cabins which made up the pre-1813 forks of the Miami settlement. Phase III excavations at the site have revealed two distinct habitation areas at the site. The eastern most habitation area, consisting of occupation midden, hearth areas, a refuse pit and charred timbers, is thought to represent the remains of a single Miami log home, burned by American troops in September 1812. A ca. 70 meter area between the cultural deposits at the eastern and western ends of the site was apparently uninhabited during the 19th century. It may have been overgrown with brush and brambles or may have been part of the cultivated fields of the Miami. At the western end of the site the cultural deposits are less extensive. Though clear evidence for occupation midden and a hearth was revealed by excavations, no clear indication of a structure, log or otherwise, was found. Perhaps, a less substantial structure, such as a bark hut or wigwam, was positioned at this end of the site. Up river from 12-Hu-1022, archaeological site 12-Hu-935 provides archaeological confirmation of the dispersed nature of the pre-1813 forks of the Wabash settlement as well as corroboration of Darnell's 1812 account of the settlement. This pattern of village or settlement layout is consistent with other 18th and 19th century ethnohistorical accounts of Miami settlement in the Wabash valley. Limited comparative archaeological data from an 18th century Wea site also supports a Miami tendency to locate permanent settlements along major rivers in a rather dispersed, linear fashion (Jones 1988:435-436).

Research Question #4

How does the site address the issues of acculturation, cultural continuity and/or resistance to Euro-American value systems? The concept of ethnic identity is thought to provide a convenient framework for the evaluation of these issues.

The placement of the material culture recovered from 12-Hu-1022 into functional activity groups helps to assess the impact of European introduced goods on Native American culture. It is this process of replacement of native forms with European equivalents that is generally termed acculturation. However, replacement of form does not necessarily indicate a corresponding change in function or in the underlying social, religious, or political associations connected with the function or behaviors affiliated with individual artifacts or types of artifacts. Moreover, the symbolic function of certain types of artifacts within Native American societies may be a reflection of the users' ethnic identity and as such can be an agent of change or continuity. Specifically, the artifacts assigned to the Adornment, Structural, and Food Preparation and Consumption functional groups, as well as the faunal and botanical remains, appear to lend themselves to an examination of Miami ethnic identity. Heber has recently demonstrated that in the study of Native American groups, the "use of a research strategy that employs ethnohistoric analysis and an ethnic model ... provides a means for tracing social and cultural continuities and for identifying features of social and cultural change" (1989:72). The added dimension provided by archaeological data should only enhance the utility of an ethnic model in the study of Miami acculturation, continuity and resistance.

In the late 1960's anthropologists began to reexamine their study of ethnic groups. Heretofore, ethnic groups had been described mainly in terms of their degree of acculturation or assimilation into the dominate culture. Trait lists were compiled for various ethnic groups and by charting the change in these lists through time anthropologists hoped to be able to determine the degree of acculturation for any given group (Barth 1969:11-12, Royce 1982:6-7). The recognition that assimilation was not necessarily the ultimate fate of ethnic groups living in pluralistic societies led Barth (1969) to publish his seminal essay on the subject. He maintained that contact with and interdependence on other ethnic groups does not lead to an erosion of ethnic identity. Given that cultural features or traits may change over time without diminishing the integrity of an ethnic group, Barth suggested that the "critical focus of investigation...becomes the ethnic *boundary* that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses" (1969:15). The key to the persistence of an ethnic group is the maintenance of these boundaries.

Combining Barth's somewhat subjective definition with more objective criteria, Royce offers the following definition of an ethnic group, "a reference group invoked by people who share a common historical style (which may only be assumed), based on overt features and values, and who, through the process of interaction with others, identify themselves as sharing that style" (1982:27). The overt features

and values referred to by Royce may be thought of as the ethnic identity of a group. Thus, the ethnic identity of a group may be defined as consisting, "of their subjective symbolic or emblematic use of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups. These emblems can be imposed from the outside or embraced from within" (DeVos 1975:16). In fact, Royce has asserted that "the ability of an ethnic group to maintain boundaries, hence survive as a distinct group, may depend on its ability to marshall an impressive array of symbols" (1982:7). The need for an impressive array of symbols to survive implies that many, if not most, inter-ethnic situations entail more than mere interaction and while Barth's recognition that ethnic groups can and do interact without necessarily jeopardizing their group identity, the nature of inter-ethnic interaction must also be examined.

As opposition tends to characterize many inter-ethnic situations, its role in the persistence of identity systems was addressed by Spicer (1971). He concluded that opposition, or the oppositional process, appears to be "the essential factor in the formation and development of the persistent identity system" (1971:797). For Spicer, the essential feature of an identity system is:

> ... an individual's belief in his personal affiliation with certain symbols, or, more accurately, with what certain symbols stand for ... What we are dealing with here are beliefs and sentiments, learned like other cultural elements, that are associated with particular symbols; such as artifacts, words, role behaviors and ritual acts ... The concept of identity places in the foreground the relationships between human beings and their cultural products [1971:795-796].

In evaluating Spicer's model, Royce concludes that it is a "sensible approach, which says that one must look at cultural artifacts as having meaning for the people who use them" (1982:45). While not all aspects of ethnicity can be associated with particular types of artifacts, some folkways such as dress (Adornment), architecture (Structural), and foodways (Food Preparation and Consumption, faunal and archaeobotantical remains) are, to one degree or another, represented in the archaeological and ethnohistorical records.

By the 19th century mode of dress had become one of the most identity-laden aspects of Native American life. Again, the missionary David Zeisberger presented the best general account of Native American dress at the close of the 18th century:

> Their dress is light; they do not hang much clothing upon themselves. If an Indian has a Match-coat, that is a blanket of the smaller sort, a shirt and brich clout and a pair of leggings, he thinks himself well dressed. In place of a blanket, those who are in comfortable circumstances and wish to be well dressed, wear a strowd, i. e., two yards of blue, red or black cloth which they throw lightly over themselves and arrange much as they would wear a Match-coat. Trousers they do not wear; but their hose, reaching considerably above the knee and held together by a piece of strowd and extending only to the feet, to some extent supply the place of trousers ... Their shoes are made of deer skin, which they prepare themselves, the women being particularly skilled in doing this and in working all manner of designs... Some wear hats or caps secured in trade with the whites; others do not cover themselves but go bare-headed
>
> Woman are distinguished in dress only in this respect, that instead of a coat they wear a strowd over the hips bound about the body next to the skin, removed neither day nor night and extending but little beyond the knees. they annoit the hair liberally with bear's fat, so that it shines. Their adornment consists in hanging much wampum, coral and silver about their necks and it is not unusual for them to have great belts of wampum depending from their necks. Their shirts and stowds they adorn with many silver buckles

> (brooches). It is also customary for them to sew red, yellow or black ribbon on their coats from top to bottom, being very fond of bright things.
>
> Men as well as women wear silver bracelets, and the latter also arrange silver clasps in their hair or wear a band about the head with as many silver ornaments on it as it will hold [Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:15].

To those Euro-Americans involved in the "civilization" programs popular during the early years of the 19th century, mode of dress was the most outwardly visible symbol of Indian ethnicity and a primary target for change. They urged the Indians to "give up the blanket" and to adopt Euro-American styles of clothing (Penny 1992:48). English woolen blankets, the strouds mentioned by Zeisberger, and a wide variety of other Euro-American manufactured materials had by the 19th century largely replaced the skins and furs of earlier days. This, however, was not an impediment to the creation of value-laden styles of clothing, rather, the diversity of materials allowed for an even greater degree of creative freedom:

> During the early decades of the nineteenth century, most women of the Great Lakes region preferred to tailor and decorate garments with manufactured materials acquired through trade ... because of their association with wealth and social prestige. Although the materials were imported (silk ribbon, wool and cotton fabrics, glass beads, silver brooches, etc.), they were combined and tailored into distinctively Indian garments that exploited the dramatic colors and textures of the materials [Penny 1992:87].

It is interesting to note that according to Penny it was the applied ornamentation--beadwork, brooches etc.-- and not so much the cloth that were the "decorative signifiers of ethnicity" (1922:49).

It is that aspect of clothing and adornment, the applied ornamentation, that is most commonly recovered from the archaeological record. At historic aboriginal sites close in both time and space to 12-Hu-1022 adornment related artifacts consistently rank high in the artifact assemblages (Jones 1989, Berkson 1992 and Wagner 1995). The significance of adornment items as testimony to the importance of clothing to Native Americans is magnified when one considers that most of the Euro-American goods traded to the Indians do not survive in the archaeological record and of these perishable goods cloth, both finished clothing and the materials to make clothing, was by far the most common commodity of the fur and Indian trade (Trubowitz 1994 and Anderson 1994:108). At 12-Hu-1022 the silver brooches and glass beads were two of the most common adornment items recovered and they are perhaps the most sensitive decorative signifiers of Miami ethnicity. The patterns into which these ornaments were woven allowed Miami women the opportunity to visually express Miami ethnicity. Two examples of Miami craftwork have survived and strikingly show the ways in which the silver brooches and white glass seed beads found at 12-Hu-1022 could have been used in Miami expressions of ethnicity (Figures 72 and 73). The Miami wrap around skirt and moccasins are thought to date to the period 1820-1840 and exhibit Miami ribbon appliqué techniques, "composed of tight, complex geometric patterns", characteristic of the period (Penny 1992:87). The ribbon appliqué work on the skirt is accentuated by the geometric designs created by circular silver brooches of various sizes. White glass seed beads line the fringes of the skirt.

Sources documenting Miami thoughts and considerations of the symbolic nature of clothing are few, however, two accounts do shed some light on the issue and the place of clothing in Miami society. Little Turtle was the primary assimilationist among the Miami following the defeat of the Miami confederacy in 1795. He was genuinely concerned with the welfare and future of the Miami and saw change as the only way to save the "red men" (Volney 1968:385). Little Turtle was an intelligent man and was keenly aware of the symbols which maintained the ethnic boundaries between the Indian and white worlds. To promote the changes he felt were necessary for the survival of the Miami people he consciously crossed the ethnic boundary and adopted the symbols of change. Little Turtle led by example, but that does not mean that change for him was easy or even comfortable. An exchange between Little

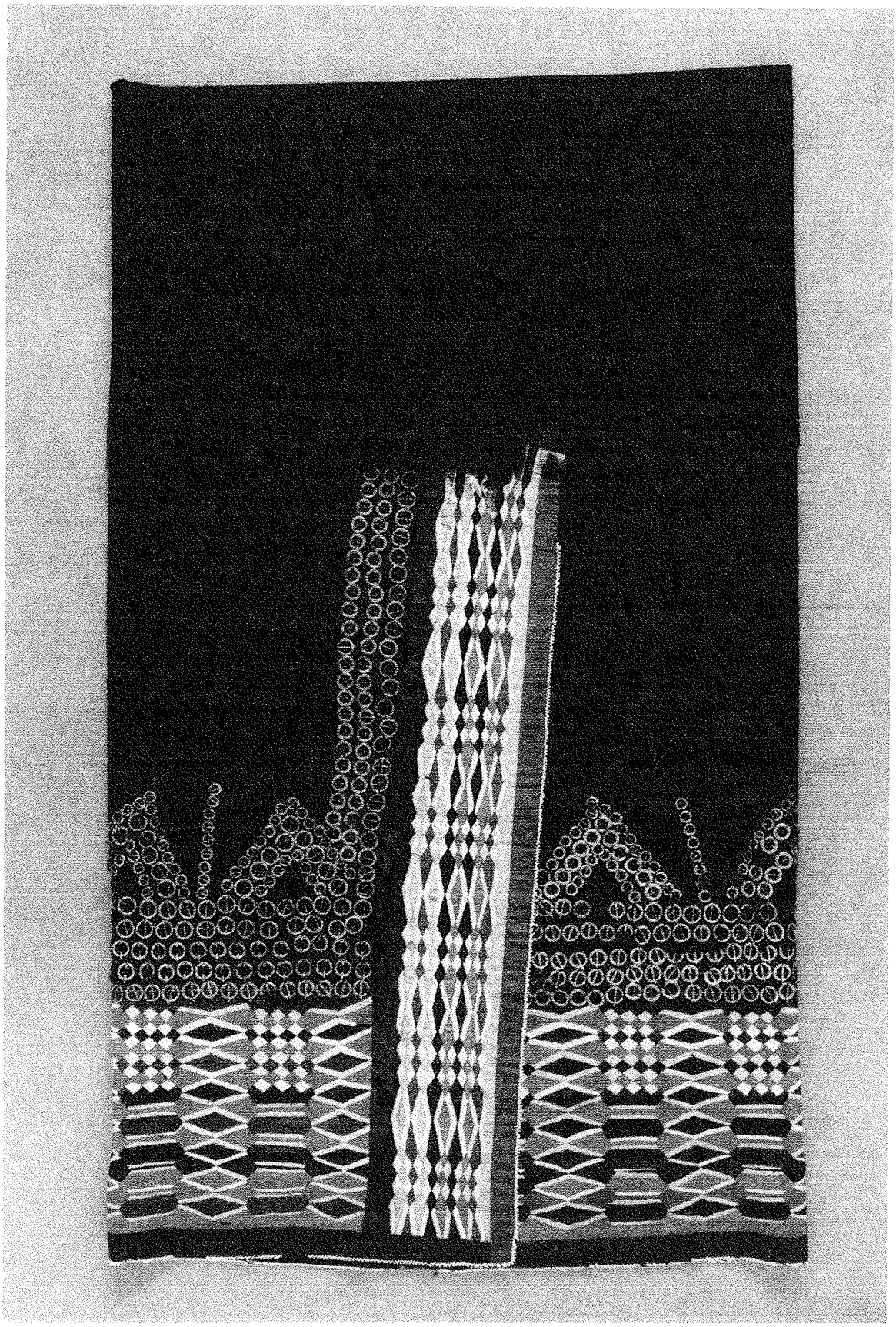

Figure 72. Miami Wrap Around Skirt (Cranbrook Institute of Science).

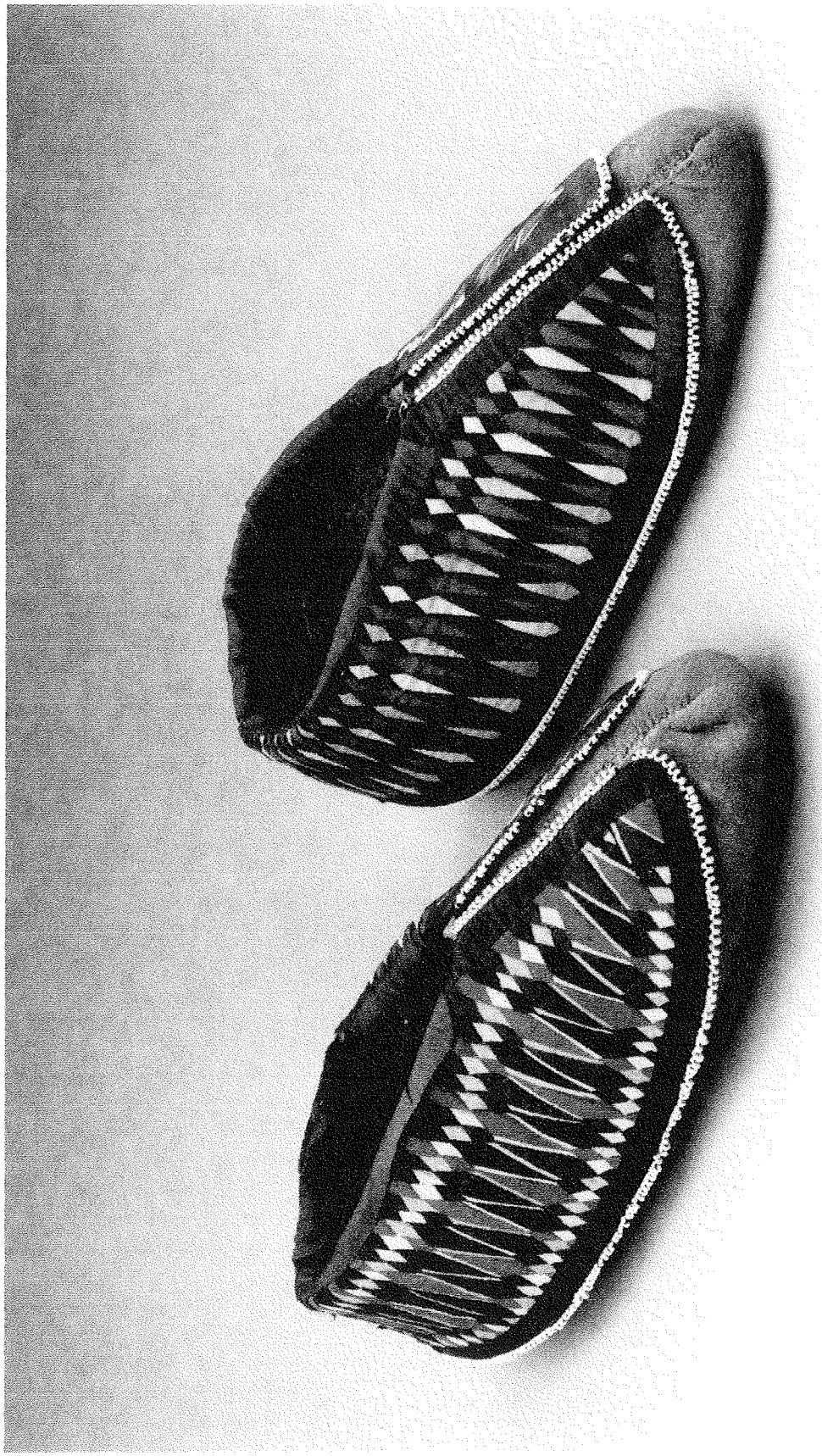

Figure 73. Miami Moccasins (Cranbrook Institute of Science).

Turtle and Volney in 1798, with William Wells serving as interpreter, demonstrates this as well as the symbolic nature of clothing:

> While talking with Wells, I was not inattentive to the chief. Not understanding English, he took no part in the conversation, but walked about, plucking out the hairs from his chin, and even from his eyebrows. He dressed in the American style; in a blue suit, with round hat and pantaloons. I desired Mr. Wells to ask him how he liked his clothes. 'At first,' said he, 'they confined my limbs unpleasantly; but I have got used to them; and as they defend me against *the heat* and the cold, I now like them well enough [Volney 1968:360-361].

As has been seen, Little Turtle found few adherents to his philosophy of assimilation among the Miami.

At the opposite end of this spectrum was the Miami insistence on retaining traditional styles of dress as a means of asserting their membership in the group, i.e., their ethnic identity. The decades following the War of 1812 were for the Miami a seemingly never ending series of treaties and land cessions. Payment for these cessions came generally in the form of yearly annuities. Not surprisingly, the distribution of annuities could sometimes be a touchy affair as Indians and traders vied for their share of the monies. Further complicating matters were persons of mixed blood, the *métis*, who were generally the offspring of native women and Euro-American traders. Their claims to tribal annuities were often disputed and their recognition as Indian was often based on their lifestyle and their appearance. Depositions taken in 1854 in regard to the tribal rights of the descendants Josetta (Beaubien) Robidoux, a maternal half-sister to Richardville, illustrate this point. Allen Hamilton, a prominent Fort Wayne trader, deposed on behalf of Josetta's descendants:

> On cross-examination the above deponent stated that he never heard it questioned in the tribe that the descendants of Josetta Beaubien were not of Miami blood, and that he believed that they were generally recognized as such by the citizens of the country. The deponent also states that during the time he paid the tribe that the descendants of Josetta Beaubien received their annuities the same as the other part-bloods, being paid, according to their degree of blood, half or quarter the full Indian received ...
>
> To the question, "Was their right to receive their annuities ever disputed by any portion of the tribe?" the deponent gave the answer, "I heard some of the chiefs making an objection to their receiving it; but not on account of their not being Miamis, but because they did not live among the tribe, and that they dressed like whites ... [United States Congress 1886:9].

To dress like a Miami was to be Miami.

Like dress, architectural style--especially of the folk or vernacular variety--can be a sensitive indicator of the builder's and occupants' ethnicity. And like dress, Native American styles of architecture had undergone some change by the 19th century as a result of contact with Euro-American peoples. New styles of architecture, log homes, co-existed along side traditional house styles throughout the late 18th century and well into the 19th century (see for example Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:78). As the adoption of log homes was invariably seen as a sign of "progress", chronolicers more often than not made the distinction between bark huts (wigwams) and log homes or cabins when describing Native American villages. The always attentive Gerard Hopkins was no exception. On their return trip from Fort Wayne and the forks of the Wabash, Hopkins and the rest of the Quaker delegation passed through the Wyandot village of Brownstown, south of Detroit:

> The Village contains about 200 houses which are generally built of small round logs and roofed with elm bark These Indians Cultivate a

> considerable quantity of Corn Their fields are inclosed with rails of their own splitting We saw a sample of some wheat which they had raised the last season that looked well. They have Gardens and a considerable number of Fruit Trees They have also a few Cattle and raise a large number of hogs. The Interpreter says thay are greatly disposed to Civilization ... [Walker 1979:402-403].

Tanner describes a similar log cabin belonging to Big Cat, the principal war chief at the 1792 Delaware village at Auglaize River. It was also bark-roofed. It reportedly had a earth floor, "a fine door of hewed puncheons and a fireplace with a chimney constructed in the French fashion of reeds and clay" (1978:19). One of the earliest accounts of Miami log houses reiterates the style mentioned above. It comes from Benjamin Stickney, writing in 1817 of the "ordinary places of resort" or villages of the Miami within the bounds of the Fort Wayne Indian Agency. At some villages, he said, the Miami had constructed "rude cabins made of small logs covered with bark" (Thornbrough 1961:252). It is this style of log architecture that was apparently present at the forks of the Wabash settlement as evidenced by Darnell's 1812 account of the burning of both bark and log houses (Darnell 1978:13). Again, as with clothing and styles of personal ornamentation, Euro-American technologies had influenced Miami styles of architecture, however, while some Miami obviously did adopt log architecture, their log homes remained distinctively Native American. Commenting on a log home at Deaf Man's village, a Miami village on the Mississinewa, George Winter noted that while it was "of comfortable capacity--such as characterize the thrifty farmer's home in the West" the interior "was strange--rude and aboriginal in character ..." (Cooke and Ramadhyani 1993:116).

Archaeologically, this distinctiveness is manifested by the structural remains and the paucity of structural artifacts recovered from the site. The charred timbers defined and mapped within the bounds of Feature 6 appear to represent the burned out remains of a rectangular log structure. The hearth, Feature 6, Areas B and C, may have been positioned in the center of the east wall of the structure. Though no clear evidence of a chimney was found, the numerous pieces of burned clay could represent a "cat and clay" chimney similar to the one described for Big Cat's cabin at the Auglaize. However, in this instance what is absent from the archaeological record may be just as significant as what was recovered. The relative lack of nails can be indicative of the particular nature of the Miami log cabin. Most nails used in the construction of log structures are usually associated with those components of log homes apparently missing or aboriginal in nature at the 12-Hu-1022 log structure, flooring, windows and roofing. Lack of windows in this structure is further evidenced by the almost complete absence of window pane glass found anywhere on the site. This despite the fact that "window glass" was apparently available to the Miami, for it was among the items in an inventory of goods on hand at the Fort Wayne Indian factory in September, 1805 (Griswold 1927:450). As for the roof, it was almost certainly constructed of bark mats. The use of bark mats for roofing material would have seemed natural to the Miami for they, and most other eastern woodland peoples, had a long tradition of bark construction. The combination of traditional building techniques with introduced styles of log construction is an excellent example of the Native American ability to accept and adopt change within the larger context of cultural continuity.

Continuity in the form of more traditional forms of housing, though, continued long after some Native Americans had adopted more "progressive" styles of housing. Wigwam style huts or cabins made from rushes or bark are among the earliest types of Miami house structures recorded (see Jones 1988:71, 191, 435-436). By 1804 the descriptions of this type of house had changed very little:

> The reader doubtless knows that an Indian house is constructed by putting two forks into the ground and a horizontal peice from one fork to the other. upon this peice rest long peices of bark with the other end upon the earth at a convenient distance. Thus sheltering themselves from the weather Sometimes they make circular Wigwams by putting small saplings into the ground in circular order then bringing the other end to a point they tie them together These they either cover with bark or with ... rush matts ... [Walker 1979:399].

While the archaeological evidence is not conclusive, such a traditional bark structure may have been associated with the hearth and midden (Features 7, 8 and 9) at the western end of the site.

Retention of traditional customs, values and beliefs is, perhaps, best illustrated by a discussion of those aspects of Miami culture relating to foodways. Archaeologically, Miami foodways are reflected in the artifacts from the Food Preparation and Consumption functional group and in the faunal and archaeobotanical remains recovered from the site. That the subsistence pattern practiced by the Miami at the forks of the Wabash remained essentially traditional in nature has already been established. Here it is only necessary to undertake a discussion of how activities associated with foodways fit into the Miami group identity.

As has been seen some changes had already been introduced into the Miami diet by the beginning of the 19th century. These are manifested at 12-Hu-1022 primarily by the remains of cattle and swine in the faunal assemblage, however, by the 19th century the symbolic importance of the acceptance of such Euro-American foods was taking on considerable importance as Native American spiritual leaders emphasized the necessity of retaining the dichotomy between Indian and white ways (White 1991:506-509). Though some groups, including the Miami, were by the early part of the 19th century attempting to incorporate cattle into their subsistence cycle, the acceptance of large herd animals prior to the War of 1812 was not widespread. David Zeisberger hit upon the crux of the problem, saying, "Because the savages are accustomed to go about in the forest, which is their greatest delight, they do not care to keep cattle, for in that case they must remain at home to look after it and are prevented from going into the forest" (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:14). But hunting to Algonquian men was more than just a great delight, "hunting was a holy occupation, a demonstration of spiritual power in which animals delivered themselves to the hunter with the consent of the spiritual masters of the game ..." (White 1991:492). Algonquian men rejected herding cattle for the same reason they rejected yeoman agriculture, it deprived them of a principal means of acquiring prestige and status within Algonquian society.

When Little Turtle began adopting the symbols of acculturation many warriors were suspicious and some openly hostile. William Wells related the following story about Little Turtle to Volney in 1798:

> At home, he must resume their [the Miami] dress and habits, and be careful of praising those he has left for fear of wounding their pride, which is extreme ... This man has at home good clothes, *tea*, and *coffee*. He has a cow, and his wife makes butter. But he must not indulge himself in these things, but reserve them for the whites. His first cow was killed by night, and he was obliged to feign ignorance of the man who did it, and to report that she died of herself [Volney 1968:378-379).

The Miami warrior who killed Little Turtle's cow was likely reacting to what the cow represented. The adoption of livestock entailed not merely a change in diet but a fundamental shift in all aspects of Miami culture that revolved around the seasonal cycle of hunting and horticulture. As the 19th century wore on, Indian spiritual leaders called for more clearly defined boundaries between Indian and white worlds. The foods Indians ate were an important part of Indian group identity. The distinction between white and Indian foods was an early component of the Prophet's message to the Wabash villagers and the part immediately seized upon by the Moravians on the White River in 1805 who were busy preaching the exact opposite message concerning livestock, "We heard that a Schawano Indian had arisen among the heathen as teacher ... As usual his teaching consists of all sorts of ancient heathenism ... He also urges most strongly that the Indians should sacrifice; that they should do away with their cattle and keep horses only ..." (Gibson 1938:392). If they did this, said the Prophet, the deer would return and there would be no shortage of game. Two years later, an Ottawa visionary named Trout, spreading the word of the Prophet (see Edmunds 1983:51-52), was even more specific regarding what was Indian food and what was white food:

> My Children
>
> The Whites I [the Great Spirit] placed on the other side of the Great Lake that they might be [a] separate people. To them

> I gave different Manners, Customs, Animals, Vegetables ... To them I have given Cattle, Sheep, Swine & Poultry for themselves only. You are not to keep any of these Animals, nor to eat of their Meat. To you I have given the Deer, the Bear & all [?] Animals and the fish that swim in the Rivers, and the Corn that grows in the fields, for your use, and you are not to give your Meat or your Corn to the Whites to eat ... Neither are you on any occasion to eat Bread it is the Food of the Whites ...
>
> ... You must plant Corn for yourselves, for your Women & for your Children ... But plant no more than is necessary for your own use. You must not sell it to the Whites, it was not made for them. I made the trees of the Forest for your use. But the Maple I love the best because it yields Sugar [for] your little ones. You must make it only for them but sell none to the Whites ... another sugar was made expressly for them [National Archives of Canada 1807].

While the number of Miami converts to the religion of the Prophet remains somewhat problematical, certain aspects of his teachings appealed to the more traditional Miami as well as those hostile to the Americans. The Miami at the forks of the Wabash, and especially those warriors who followed Chapine, would seem likely candidates for accepting at least certain aspects of the Prophet's message. Whether influenced by the Prophet or not, the Miami at the forks of the Wabash certainly seem to have held to traditional subsistence patterns to a very large degree. The documentary record as well as the faunal and archaeobotanical remains from the site suggest the recognition of and a preference for "Indian" foodstuffs by the Miami.

As with subsistence procurement strategies--horticulture, hunting and gathering--preparation and consumption of food by Native Americans had both social and ritual meanings. Artifacts, or a lack thereof, relating to these activities, are reflective of both change and persistence. By the 19th century there is little or no evidence to suggest that the Miami had retained any vestige of their prehistoric and protohistoric ability to produce ceramic vessels. Copper and brass kettles were quickly adopted for food preparation and storage. As tinned iron sheet kettles and other tin vessels became readily available beginning early in the 19th century they apparently were preferred over their copper/brass counterparts. The ratio of copper/brass scraps to tin scraps at the site demonstrates that the Miami followed this trend. This may be at least partly due to the surface similarity between tinned iron and trade silver. Certainly at 12-Hu-1022 reworking of worn out tin containers into adornment items was a common occurrence. Acceptance of Euro-American forms of containers into Miami foodways was a pragmatic decision, for beyond the purely utilitarian function of these containers, they also provided the raw materials for the creation of ethnic signifiers, such as tinkling cones, which had no Euro-American analogs.

Food consumption, however, was a different matter. The Euro-American goods relating to food consumption--ceramic tablewares, spoons, forks and table knives--did not fit easily into Miami foodways and were seemingly rejected. The Euro-Americans on the 18th and 19th century frontier were not deprived of these items and they show up in some frequency in the invoices and inventories of the Fort Wayne Indian factory. Undecorated, flowered (i.e. hand painted), green and blue edge decorated cups, saucers, plates of all sizes, bowls, cream jugs, and even butter boats, could be had at the factory (Griswold 1927:405, 419). Instead the Miami chose not to adopt these items and retained traditional forms of eating and serving implements. Unfortunately for archaeologists these implements were made almost exclusively of wood and are therefore generally lacking in the archaeological record. The poor recovery rate of such artifacts coupled with the almost complete lack of Euro-American ceramics and the total absence of Euro-American eating utensils at the site argues in favor of the Miami retention of wooden eating and serving utensils. As previously noted, such vessels served a dual function. Practically, wooden bowls and spoons, usually shared by all present at a meal, functioned as a means of serving and consuming food. Zeisberger noted, "Dishes and spoons they make themselves of wood, sometimes of tree knots or growths, often very neatly. The spoons are generally large and round shaped. Occasionally, a spoon will be used by several people, turn about, at a meal" (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:86).

Symbolically, they represented unity and could be used to promote friendship and alliance. An example, not fully understood by the chronicler, Henry Hay, took place on Hay's journey to Miamis Town in 1789:

> Mr. McDonnell [a British trader who lived at the Glaize] had a horse load of Indian goods and was going to trade them at the Indian wigwams a few miles in the woods--a small distance from the place we encamped we met with some Indian Hutts which Mr. McDonnell visited, on his coming an Indian asked him if he was hungry; answered yes, then says he I'll roast a Rackoon for you & asked w[h]ere he intended to encamp that he might know w[h]ere to bring it--Mr McDonnell told him ... about 8 o'clock in the evening, just after we had supped, we perceived a fire brand coming thro' the woods, which proved to be the Indian with a roasted Rackoon cut up in wooden dish which he delivered to Mr. McDonnell. He seemed a very merry fellow, he left us about 10 o'clock--left his wooden dish, it being their custom, they come for it when they find you are gone [Quaife 1915:216].

The presentation of the roasted raccoon in a wooden dish was a gesture of goodwill toward the trader, who was obviously already acquainted with the Indian and with the meanings behind this exchange. The gift, in its symbolic container, was likely meant as a continuance of a reciprocal relationship which already existed between the Indian and McDonnell. The Euro-American refined earthenware assemblage at 12-Hu-1022, dominated by a single pearlware saucer, is just too sparse to indicate a utilitarian function for these artifacts. More likely, they represent the Miami acceptance of the Euro-American equivalent of an Algonquian symbol, the presentation and acceptance of which may never be known.

Even among "progressive" Miami families following the War of 1812, the acceptance of Euro-American refined earthenwares or eating utensils was slow in coming. Returning once more to Thomas Scattergood Teas's encounter with La Fontaine and family, it will be remembered that while dining with the Miami family, Teas found the table set with tin containers but made no mention of refined earthenwares. More telling was La Fontaine's apology to Teas for the lack of forks in the household as the Miami "had not got into the way of using them yet" (Lindley 1916:249). The scarcity of Euro-American ceramics and absence of Euro-American eating utensils at 12-Hu-1022, then, cannot be considered a result of recovery bias. Rather the artifact assemblage seems to accurately reflect the Miami rejection of certain Euro-American items which were not consistent with Miami beliefs concerning both symbolic and practical aspects of Miami foodways.

The archaeological data recovered from 12-Hu-1022 and the documentary record clearly shows that the Miami living at the forks of the Wabash during the early years of the 19th century retained, to a significant extent, an ethnic identity based on the precedents and traditions of the past. This should not be taken to imply that Miami culture was stagnant. New materials, technologies, styles of housing were adopted by the Miami and incorporated into existing settlement patterns, modes of dress, and foodways. Euro-American ideas, technologies and materials which involved fundamental changes to the overall character of Miami lifeways were almost unanimously rejected by the Miami living at the pre-1813 forks of the Wabash settlement. This resistance to Euro-American ideas of "civilization" (e.g. Euro-American styles of farming, architecture, dress, food preparation and serving) is manifested at the site by the almost total lack of artifacts corresponding to structures or activities consistent with such behaviors. Among the Miami Little Turtle was perhaps the earliest to recognize that these boundaries between the white and Indian worlds were the source of the conflict between the Americans and the Indians. While he advocated changing Miami cultural traditions, he recognized how difficult the task would be. In 1798 Volney, desiring to "know the reasons that withheld the Indians from settling and incorporating with the whites", put the crucial question to Little Turtle; he asked, "Are you not more comfortable here [Philadelphia] than on the banks of the Wabash" (Volney 1968:375). Little Turtle:

> made a considerable pause, agreeably to the Indian habits of deliberation and reserve in speaking. After some meditation, walking

> about the while, and plucking out his beard, he replied: "Yes; I am pretty well accustomed to what I find here. I think this dress warm and comfortable. These houses are good to keep out wind and rain, and they have every thing convenient. This market (we overlooked Market-street) gives us every thing we want, without the trouble of hunting in the woods. All things considered, you are better off than we, but--here, I am deaf and dumb. I do not talk your language. When I walk the streets, I see every body busy about something; one makes shoes, another hats, a third sells cloth, and all live by their work. I say to myself, which of these things can I do? Not one. I can make a bow, catch fish, kill deer, and go to war, but none of these things are done here. To learn what you do would ask much time, be very difficult, and uncertain of success ... Were I to stay with the whites, I should be an idle piece of furniture, useless to myself, to you, and to my nation ... I must go back. [Volney 1968:375-376].

In the end, this speech by Little Turtle is the best summation of and justification for the Miami lifeways responsible for the nature of the Miami experience at 12-Hu-1022, as reflected in the archaeological record. The changes thought by Little Turtle to be necessary to the survival of the Miami people involved drastic and fundamental alterations to Miami lifeways that even he could not fully fathom, changes that most Miami prior to 1813 were unwilling to even consider. Change had always been part of Miami culture, but changes were generally incorporated into an overarching framework of continuity.

Chapter 11. Conclusion

Phase III archaeological excavations at the Ehler Site (12-Hu-1022) were designed to mitigate any adverse effects to the cultural resources present at the site by the proposed improvements to U.S. Highway 24 (INDOT project MAF-146-0). It is the opinion of these archaeologists that by this report Federal and State provisions concerning the identification and protection of archaeological resources have been accomplished.

Phase I and Phase II archaeological investigations conducted at the Ehler Site (12-Hu-1022) suggested an important prehistoric occupation consisting of Paleoindian, Middle Archaic, Late Archaic and Late Woodland components (Evans and Mann 1991, Zoll 1992). During the current Phase III excavations diagnostic prehistoric artifacts recovered from the site confirmed the presence of the Middle Archaic, Late Archaic and Late Woodland components and also indicated a previously undocumented Middle Woodland component. Aside from the diagnostic artifacts, the only other prehistoric material recovered from the site were lithics found in plowzone, feature and subsoil contexts. It appears that the soil formation processes at work on the site have not been very dynamic with little deposition along the upper reaches of the Wabash Drainage. As a result the A horizon displays no apparent stratigraphy. Archaeologically, this process, or lack thereof, has resulted in the mixing of cultural materials over time. Because of the lack of intact prehistoric archaeological features and the mixed nature of the cultural material, the prehistoric components of the site within the study area should not be considered significant.

Beyond this, the research, both archaeological and ethnohistorical, conducted as a result of this project have produced data significant to the understanding of the early historic occupation of the forks of the Wabash region. Identification of the cultural affiliation of the intact archaeological deposits at the site was undertaken. This revealed that these deposits were not prehistoric as previously supposed, but rather were the remains of an early 19th century historic aboriginal occupation. Specifically, these deposits--midden, hearths, charred timbers, a storage pit and a refuse pit--and the historic cultural debris contained therein have been assigned to an early 19th century Miami Indian occupation at the site. It should be noted here that the excellent preservation of these deposits was due entirely to the fortuitous placement of the tow path for the Wabash and Erie Canal directly over top of the northern portion of the site. The data recovered were used to generate some observations concerning Miami lifeways at this crucial period in their history. Artifact analysis demonstrated that a number of functional groups, reflective of various aspects of Miami activities and behaviors--Adornment, Arms Related, Food Preparation and Consumption, Tobacco Use, Clothing, Metal Working, Structural, Maintenance and Personal--were represented in the artifact assemblage. Additionally, the recovery of faunal and botanical remains, facilitated by the use of small-scale recovery techniques, provided a more holistic view of the range of activities which took place at the site.

Together with the ethnohistorical information, these archaeological data were used to formulate some conclusions concerning; 1) the chronology of the historic occupation of the site, 2) the range of subsistence activities which took place at the site and how the site fit into the overall subsistence strategy of the Miami, 3) the way in which the site fit into the regional settlement patterns employed by the Miami during the 18th and 19th centuries and 4) the issues of change and continuity within Miami society. This last topic employed an ethnic model which holds that the concept of ethnic identity provides a convenient framework for examining both continuity (persistence and resistance) and change. Detailed analysis of various aspects of Miami lifeways revealed that superficial changes to Miami culture--brought about by the introduction and adoption of select Euro-American goods, technologies and foodstuffs--masked the retention of traditional values, beliefs and behaviors: an ethnic identity.

It is important to note that the Phase III operations at 12-Hu-1022 have dealt exclusively with those portions of the site, as defined by the Phase I and Phase II work at the site, within the right-of-way of the above mentioned INDOT project. Careful examination of the documentary record has revealed that 12-Hu-1022 is but a small portion of a larger Miami settlement which stretched for up to four miles along the north bank of the Wabash River, beginning at its confluence with the Little River. Archaeologically, confirmation for the existence of this larger settlement was revealed during Phase III operations at site 12-Hu-935 (Sherman 1996). Consequently, it is likely that additional intact portions of the Miami settlement, as well as intact prehistoric deposits, remain undiscovered within those portions of the right-of-way which intersect with either the tow path or berm of the Wabash and Erie canal.

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